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Journal

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Is Vedanta a Science of Reality ?

By

C. T. Srinivasan

(Annamalai University.)

I propose to discuss the subject under two headings. The first part will be occupied with the question: "Can there be a science of Reality?" In the second part, the question of Vedanta being a science of Reality will be dealt with at length.

I.

CAN THERE BE A SCIENCE OF REALITY?

We live within the matrix of Nature which we try and hope to understand. How much do we know? What is life? No one knows. It emerges from darkness like a meteor, makes a transient trail and disappears into darkness again. What is Self, this 'I'? I rise from life and merge into life. The rising and merging belong to life as such. But Self includes life within itself and transcends it by overflowing it. It becomes the province of science and philosophy to rationalize the matrix of nature in which we live and act, for the trail of human nature is indeed over all our knowledge. Yet we must not forget that even these rationalisations grow out of tradition and prejudices that we have assimilated into our nature. The present day tendency is to emphasize science as the exclusive method of apprehending Reality. Far be it from me to minimize the importance of science which has so vastly

enlarged our vision of Reality. But the lure of the Abstract is so strong that the little gain is out-balanced by an irretrievable loss of integrity. Scientists and philosophers may hypostasize analyses and classifications into Essences or Ultimate Units. Surely this is only a trick of language, for the so-called Ultimate Units indeed subsist as abstractions in the realm of Thought, where they enjoy a dubious eternity. Nature is not any more real at the level of electrons and protons than at the level of human consciousness. If proton be at the one end the Ultimate of analysis, consciousness is at the other end the Ultimate of synthesis. Nature without spirit becomes mere weather, for it is by Spirit that matter and motion are standardized into patterns, meaningful and beautiful. The analyses of science are pragmatic and do not pretend to give the full implications of the postulates involved. The recent history of science shows too clearly that the scientific constants are pragmatic constants. What science requires is a metaphysical continuum in which, to use Einstein's language, "there are no parts that can be tracked through time." Nature viewed as a whole, does not seem to come into being or likely to pass away. It is self-sustaining and has a definite structure. Over and above the routine of Nature, there is the Creative Genius which spiritualizes Nature and does not emerge in nature's cycles. It has its own individual life of infinite richness and value and "in fullness of time incarnates itself into the flesh of mother earth to produce the kingdoms of beauty, order and value." The patterns might be of the stuff of which dreams are made, but surely, We, the weavers of the patterns, must be something else other than the dream stuff. It is Nature that seems to be rounded up in sleep and not 'We', the creators of values. So much for the complexity of our subject matter.

The term science, no matter to whatever sphere of life or existence it is applied, is currently understood to signify a systematic study and exposition of things and factors that have been, are and yet to be. In its modern usage and acceptance no science can boast of having actually achieved such a happy consummation, although the Ideal of such a perfection is necessarily implied not only by the different sciences of our time but also in our very life and existence. Without such an Ideal no science is worth the name nor life itself worth the pursuit. This urge towards an evergrowing perfection is present in varying degrees of explicitness as aspects of One Universal Life. So long as the manifold aspects and life processes have not been gathered together under a common view-point, life continues to be full of errors, contradictions and pitfalls. Hence science demands not only truths and facts to be accounted for, but also errors and illusions which, though really non-existent factors, have nevertheless been assumed to

be. It is quite logical that a science which explains successfully facts and figures, can also consistently account for error. The very value and function of a science depend upon its capacity to account for the error or ignorance besetting life and to remove such unreal factors by an exposition of the underlying truths. "If truth is not manifest, it must be made manifest, if it is manifest, it must be reached ." So long as the basic truth of life is not understood and firmly grasped, life would be covered, as it were, with ignorance and contradictions. The phrase, "grades of Reality" being a misnomer, the differences in sciences are due to the different degrees of Reality emphasized by them. Thus we come to have a hierarchy of sciences based upon the degree of success actually achieved in life.

A science demands as its essentials the following facilities viz., observation, experiment, verification and inference. At the outset we must confess that these facilities are not given to us in their fullest measure. Error as such, is not in the Reality or even in life itself but rather in one or other of the organs and instruments of observation and experiment. Verification and inference themselves could be shown to be defective in one aspect or another and as yet, imperfect in every case. No body seems to be sure of his ground. Newton might have laughed at Ptolemy, but Einstein is making the present generation to laugh at Newton, possibly himself to be laughed at in turn by a future Copernicus. Is this pessimism? Human understanding! It is a frail thing and likely to pass away. Yet it is the only thing that counts for us as the real, and signifies our participation in the realm of nature. But let us not be fooled by our own self-delusions. Human mind has not once sifted out a grain of truth without letting twenty others slip by. In the words of Father Ogniben "Nobody has uttered truth but has presented twenty lies to support it". To see things as they are and understand their limitations are the characteristic marks of a scientific eye.

Further, factors like observation, experiment, inference, etc., are, to a large extent, factors of individual experience. And our ordinary human experience does admit of a variety of contradictions, to wit, unity and differences, freedom and constraint, the eternal and the contingent, the infinite and the finite, etc. Logically speaking these mutual oppositions must themselves be necessarily and eternally cancelling one another. If mutual opposition be the only truth, there would indeed be no truth at all, for truth will be contradicted by error. But without these opposing factors distinctly perceived as such, life or experience could not be possible; and experience is the only factor on which all sciences and knowledge are based and to be guaranteed. Bosanquet

might say that all these contradictions are resolved ultimately in the Absolute. This is putting the cart before the horse. Life alone is the sole repository of both knowledge and ignorance, and it alone can explain the truth of these contradictions. Every scientific problem is a life-problem only. And life contains the one solution of the different oppositions. Thus no science is independent of life, and life embraces all sciences within its fold and is infinitely more than a mere totality of sciences.

With the modern canons of scientific procedure, Reality can never be actually demonstrated, for, we have already pointed out how factors like observation, experiment etc., are not only limited in their scope but inherently defective in their nature and constitution. Let us take observation for example. What we observe seems to be real. But the illusions of the optic centres are too well known. The sun going round the earth seems to be perfectly real so far as the human eye goes. Our dreams and the optic illusions assure us that what is taken to be real, may not be so after all. A true scientific observation requires the whole of Reality including the observing subject as well, to be placed before us as an object for observation. Such a task is futile, for how could the observer be possibly objectified or treated as an object. As Sankara put it beautifully, the cognizer is ever the cognizer and the cognized ever the cognized only, and it is impossible for one to be both the cognizer and the cognized at the same time. This is the law of contradiction. The instruments of our observation, our very eyes and the microscopes, are vitiated by the danger of mal-observation or non-observation. While we cannot absolutely trust our senses, how can we pretend to have been assured by the merely external and artificial though wonderfully constructed and delicate instruments like microscopes, telescopes, stereoscopes etc? Are these instruments really more wonderful, complex or delicate than the human eye? What is not possible for the human eye becomes utterly impossible for the artifices of the human mind. Bertrand Russel put it correctly when he said that we could never be assured whether what we observed through the microscope was really a motion in ether or merely a reflection of a quiver in the retina of the observing eye. So much for scientific observation.

What about experiment? Man is given only one chance to know Truth. A theory of reincarnation might after all be an Oriental balm to the many disappointed and disheartened human souls, but to a scientist nothing more than a belief. The religious dogma does not alter or affect the scientific conception. It is a rational but pious hope that what could not possibly be achieved here and now, we hope to achieve after death or in a rebirth. What I want to emphasize is not the

rationality or the irrationality of the religious doctrine—this is a matter for the priests and *pundits* to fight over—but the tremendous and momentous significance of our present life. Have we really any positive proof or evidence to show conclusively that after death there is a sure return? Hence if any scientific experiment is to be conducted upon Reality, it must be done in the *'present'* life, for science does not lie outside life. But experiment requires that the subject doing the experiment must live before, during and after the experiment. In other words the present experimentor must live as he was before birth, and continue to live after death. On the very face of it, it sounds absurd and impossible. Who knows anything of the *'Before'* or of the *'Hereafter'*? Our very limitations and littleness in this ruthless orderly machine of an immense universe seem to mock at our attempts to know Reality as it is. The little blade of a grass seems to scoff at man's vanity and his presumptive claim to wisdom and superiority. In the absence of correct observation and experiment, verification and inference are more or less speculative and dogmatic in character. Hence the reason why the best scientific truth is always open to be proved false and replaced by subsequent or more acute inference *ad infinitum.* The sum of all human endeavours has not even touched the Actual by the fraction of a millimeter. "Ages have past; still Thou pourest and still there is room to fill" (Tagore: Gitanjali.)

We are left on the brink of an abyss ready to be dashed to pieces. Are human existences and endeavours merely the accidents of a ruthless system of coincidences over which we have no control? What is this immense machine of a universe with its laws of evolution, development and growth? Who is its controller or is the controller himself its steering rod and wheel? What is the cause, purpose and the meaning of the whole affair? These must lie within this universe itself, for we cannot have the seed at one place and seek the tree elsewhere. Or is the whole thing a bit of constrained imagination and if so, whose? Hegel says "Reality is already an accomplished fact and does not wait for human cognition or recognition. That it does so wait is the illusion under which we live and have our interest in life." If the evolutionary laws and processes disclosing themselves in manifold ways and existences in Nature are nothing better than hallucinations, human endeavours and aspirations become meaningless and unnecessary. What about science? Its methods, if stretched to their logical limits, leave us between the Scylla and the Charybdis. But the question is "Is Reality so?" The Real in order to be real, must be artistically the most beautiful, morally the perfect and scientifically the most correct or the rational. Hence human endeavours must have their place and meaning within the system of Reality. As Spinoza put it,

if Reality had become the commonest of all things, humanity would not have waited so long for its salvation. The fault then does not and cannot lie in the Real, but only in the different methods we are pursuing. And the methods of modern sciences neither prove nor disprove anything in all the three worlds heaven, earth or hell.

II.

VEDANTA AS A SCIENCE OF REALITY.

As a science, Vedanta alone gives us some hope. It brings before us the whole of our experience for review. There is no mystery or mysticism about the Upanishads. One and all of the Upanishadic seers think that life alone will give the clue to the whole affair. They proclaim truth and also prove by reasoning how it cannot be the whole truth. Thus by viewing and reasoning from different angles of vision we arrive at certain facts. When we bring them all together, we will as a matter of course arrive at the right conclusion. This is the method pursued by Yajnavalkya in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. At first it takes the form of an appeal to our ordinary experience and passing judgment upon what is presented in experience as the real or as our immediate sense of the present. Beyond the perpetual and conceptual levels lie the aesthetic, moral and religious factors. These modes of construction are, according to Yajnavalkya, only one phase of the total experience. Sruti also says: "Brahman is four-footed. All this is one foot only, the other three feet are up in the sky."

"Philosophy contemplates experience as a whole and attempts to comprehend it under its scheme. . . . The clue to the nature of a Philosophy lies in the method pursued.[1] There is a fundamental difference between the methods of Vedanta and Western philosophers. Croce, the great Italian 'Actual' idealist, in praising the Indian system says that while the Indian system has everything to do with life and experience, the formal Logic of the West is dry and when applied to human experience is barren of any good result. Mr. Widgery in his recent book on "Contemporary Thought in Great Britain," remarks that in order to appreciate the great conclusions of the Indian Philosophers, modern Philosophers must first get familiar with their peculiar methods. But Hegel thought that he would have nothing to do with a system that landed him nowhere or in the 'Abyss of Brahman' as he called it. Mr. Stace, the author of 'Hegel's Philosophy' calls the system of the Upanishads a 'pseudo-philosophy.' Such contemptuous

1. Dr. Radhakrishnan: The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy.

references are excusable when we consider the peculiar nature of the *Vedic* methods (which they have failed to understand). The great metaphysical '*Vedic*' conclusions are based upon a correct valuation of facts in terms of experience as our great philosophers like Gaudapada, Sankara and Ramanuja have shown in their brilliant commentaries. The '*vedic*' methods and conclusions can be understood only through a clear understanding of those great '*vedic*' scholars who knew how to interpret the Upanishads.

The Western methods could broadly be divided into the empirical and the transcendental. Under the empirical come the positive, physical and physiological sciences and under the transcendental, the aesthetic, the moral and the religious. There is yet a third view which has escaped the attention of the Western philosophers and scientists. This is what is called the '*Avasthaic*' View, and the method of enquiry is commonly called the '*Avasthathrya*' which supplies the key to the understanding of the philosophy of the Upanishads. Till now Western scholars have not bestowed any serious attention on this subject. As this is a metaphysical method it is wrong to suppose, as some of our recent scholars do, that it has anything to do with psycho-analysis. It is not psychology but pure metaphysics, as all psychology is only a science based upon the observation of the enquirer in one state only, i.e., the waking. The method of *Avasthathrya* is a comprehensive view, more comprehensive than the usual transcendental and empirical views. It is the '*vedic*' view and peculiar to the Vedas only. No other system of thought has even thought of it. The study of Vedanta is never complete without an understanding of this method and its application. It is not mysticism but the means by which clear reasoning leads to a direct perception of Truth. The importance of this method as the surest proof for establishing Reality was realised by Gaudapada and Sankara. Sankara's greatness lies in the fact that as a true metaphysician he bases his whole system of thought upon this important method. The Vedanta Sutras deal with this Method in Chapter III, pada 2, where Sankara describes it as the unique '*vedic*' method. Gaudapada, his predecessor, gives it the foremost place as is evident from his Karikas on the Mandukya Upanishad. Sankara's system will remain a sealed book if the method with all its implications is not properly understood. Vidyaranya in his *Panchadasi,* takes up *Avasthathrya* in the very first chapter in order to establish the Reality by an appeal to reason and facts of our experience. Even now in India there are several *Mutts* or religious organisations where this method is taught only to the most ardent students of philosophy. A metaphysical enquiry into the nature of Reality should be based upon reason and experience and therefore not even one aspect of our experience

can be left out. Hence in the Upanishads, whenever the final teaching is taken up, this method is taught first and then only others follow. Also this is the only Method which has a whole Upanishad entirely devoted to it. Mandukya Upanishad provides the clue to the whole *'vedic'* position.

This *'vedic'* Method resolves the totality of our experience in three states or *'Avasthas,'* waking, dream and sleep. This whole universe presented to our view, is a phenomena of the enquirer's waking state only. A shadow of it is presented in the dream state in which also the reality of the world is not doubted at that time. In deep sleep this world is nowhere. The first seven verses in the Mandukya Upanishad deal with the four modes or 'padas' of the soul's experience. The four are explained in the light of 'upasana' under the sacred syllable, *AUM,* where *A* stands for the Waking, *U* for Dream and *M* for Deep Sleep and *AUM* for the whole of experience.

Mandukya Upanishad.

१. ओमित्येतदक्षरमिदꣳ सर्वं तस्योपव्याख्यानं भूत भवद्भविष्यदिति
सर्वमोंकार एव । यच्चान्यत्त्रिकालातीतं तदप्योंकार एक ॥

Aum is the word. All this is an explanation of its past, present and future. All indeed is *Aum,* even all that is beyond the triple conception of time.

२. सोऽयमात्मा चतुष्पात् ॥ प

This *Atman* has four quarters.

३. जागरितस्थानो बहिः प्रज्ञः··स्थूलभुग्वैश्वानरः प्रथमः पादः ।

The first quarter is the *Vaisvanara* whose sphere is the state of waking, who is cognisant of the objective . . . whose fruition consists of the gross.

४. स्वप्नस्थानोऽन्तः प्रज्ञः···प्रविविक्तभुक् तैजसो द्वितीयः पादः ॥

The second quarter is the *Taijasa* whose region is the dream, whose is cognisant of the subjective only . . . . whose fruition consists of the subtle.

५. यत्र सुप्तो न कंचन कामं कामयते न कंचन स्वप्नं पश्यति तत्सुषुप्तम् ।
सुषुप्तस्थान एकीभूवः प्रज्ञानघन एवानन्दमयो····चेतोमुखः प्राज्ञस्तृतीयः पादः ॥

That is the state of deep sleep wherein the sleeper does not imagine anything and does not see any dream. The third quarter is therefore the *Prajna* whose sphere is the deep sleep, in whom all melt into one, who is a mass of sentiency, who is all bliss, and who is the way of sentiency.

६. एष सर्वेश्वर एष सर्वज्ञ एषोऽन्तर्याम्ये योनिः सर्वस्य प्रभवाप्यौ हि भूतानाम्॥

This is the Lord of all, all-knowing, the *Antaryamin,* the source of all, the origin and final resort of all beings.

७. नान्तः प्रज्ञं न बहिः प्रज्ञं नोभयतः प्रज्ञं न प्रज्ञानघनं न प्रज्ञं नाप्रज्ञम् ।
अदृष्टमव्यवहार्यमग्राह्यमलक्षणमचिन्त्यमव्यपदेश्यमेकात्मप्रत्ययसारं
प्रंपञ्चोपशम शान्तं शिवमद्वैतं चतुर्थं मन्यते स आत्मा स विज्ञेयः ॥

The fourth is that which is not conscious of the subjective nor that of the objective nor that of both, nor that which is mere consciousness and sentiency, nor that which is all darkness. It is unseen, transcendent, uninferable, indescribable, the sole basis of consciousness, the negative of all illusions, the One and the non-dual. This indeed is *Atman;* it should be known.

Analysing these seven verses we get:

Deep Sleep	(*Prajna, M,*)	Causal	Self plus ignorance.
Dream	(*Taijasa, U,*)	Subtle	Self plus dream-world.
Waking	(*Visva, A,*)	Gross	Self plus waking-world.
Thuriya	(*Atman, Aum,*)	Truth	True self or Absolute.

Here the enquirer finds out that the waking-world does not accompany him in deep sleep, and the dream-world is found to be illusory. The waking-world is the sphere of plurality, action and morality. Dream is a subjective illusion, and in deep sleep the Self perceives nothing. The Self is the permanent factor while everything else is a percept of the waking state or an illusion of the dream. As the invariable substratum of the states, the Self is the Reality, because no state is possible without the Self. The ignorance of anything in sleep is only a waking idea. The ignorance that is assumed to persist in deep sleep is nothing but the indefinability of the true nature of the Self in terms of the waking intellect. As the unbroken thread and witness of the three states, the Self is the Real, while the world, mind, body and the states have only a contingent relation to the Self, being found in two of its particular modes viz., waking and dream. Sleep is the region

of bliss as the Self reaches there its true nature of undifferentiated unity. Every one of us feels it as soon as we wake up from sound sleep. Sleep is not unconsciousness as the modern psychologist supposes it to be. It is the region of pure consciousness according to the Upanishad, i.e., consciousness bereft of its subject-object relationship which is the characteristic feature of the Waking and Dream. If otherwise, the return to waking consciousness after sleep would be irrational and unnatural. This is the truth taught by Brihaspati to Indra in the form of a story in Chandogya. Deep sleep is not an annihilation of the Self as Indra wrongly held it to be, but is the fullness of Self's existence as Prajapati taught Indra. In deep sleep, space, time and substance, the limiting adjuncts of the waking and dream, have become dissolved into the true nature of Self. There being nothing else other than the Self, the Self alone is the Real. This is the truth taught by the Mandukya. Is this solipsism? No. The 'I' that is conscious of having slept and dreamt, is the transcendental 'I' which is itself the '*thuriya*' and which, therefore, is in reality free from sleep, dream and duality or plurality. Is the '*thuriya*' impersonal or abstract? The '*thuriya*' is the super-personal according to the Upanishad. It assumes the role of an ego in two of its states, waking and dream, where it has created a non-ego for its view. Personality is the highest in our experience, and therefore our Self cannot be impersonal as the impersonal is below the personal. It must be something more than what we mean by the term person, and never below that. The states dissolve in the Self but the Self is not lost in the states. The fact referred to as the person remains always as the 'I' in any experience, and never a 'he' or 'that'. It does not refer to any that we can discern as this or that in our experience. It refers to the whole of our person and thus transcends thought and speech, but is easily the only fact best known, as self-consciousness is always implied in experience. It is that which we feel but cannot express. Sankara describes the Self as Nitya, Buddha, Suddha, and Muktha—permanent, intelligent, pure and free. The person is That, "the highest and completest of all wholes, the most Real of reals."[2] "It exists; it is real; it has being, however it may be interpreted. . . . Personality not only proves to be the prime unit of reality and existence . . . but is the only solution of the sceptic's problem of the one and the many."[3] This is the truth taught by the Mandukya Upanishad.

2. Holism and Evolution: By General Smuts.

3. The Problem of Personality: By E. N. Merrington, Part II, Chap. IV, page 192.

Vedanta as a science, goes so far and says that the Self alone is real and free from the temporary attachments made in each state. Going a step further, it examines the nature and meaning of the states themselves. What, then, are the three states and what do they signify? The Self's three states may not mean three for the Self. That we have a memory of the three states nobody can deny. But does 'three' mean the number? As numbers they must belong to the same time-space series. But each state has got its own time-space series. Dream has got its own series, while there is none in deep sleep. The three-ness of the Self's states is, therefore, an intellectual illusion of the waking intellect. And this question does not arise in dream or sleep. While the states are all fleeting, the Self alone remains as the one permanent Entity. "Dream becomes unreal in the waking, nor does the waking exist in the dream, both dream and waking are absent in deep sleep, and sleep too is absent in waking and dream. Their unreality is proved by their necessary intercancellations. But the Self is the Eternal Witness of the states and thus beyond them, the One which is of the nature of pure consciousness."[4] Sankara's argument is a typical example of the '*vedic*' reasoning.

Even an illusion must have some meaning in the Real. What do the three states signify? According to the Mandukya, deep sleep signifies the purity of our Being, dream, freedom, and waking, all-knowingness. The Self exists as the Knower in the waking; its aspect as Absolute Freedom is testified by its dream-creations. If in deep sleep the Self does not know anything, it is not because of the absence of knowledge in the Self but because of the absence of objects of knowledge. There is then nothing else, no second thing to be known, not even the sense of I-ness since individuation presupposes differentiation. The Self attains its pure nature in deep sleep and therefore there is no knowing there. It is such a Reality that we have in waking and dream but not realised so by the then ego which is only a byproduct of the states themselves.

How is this '*vedic*' method superior to the scientific method? According to the state-view, the modern scientific methods deal only with one phase of experience, viz., the waking. Hence when applied to the study of dream and sleep, they interpret them wrongly, dream being treated as the subconscious and sleep as the unconscious state. Modern psychology commits this blunder in its study of dream and sleep. The questions of the subconscious and the unconscious are phenomena

4. Sankara: Aparokshanubhuti, Verses 57 and 58.

of the waking experience, and they do not arise in dream or sleep. What is true from the waking standpoint may not be true from dream or sleep standpoints. All casual explanations, to be true, must belong to the same time series. We have seen that the states are neither co-ordinate in space nor continuous in time. The conclusion according to the *'vedic'* method is that no state is the cause of another state but in their metaphysical value all states as states, are unreal being contingent. Proceeding a step further, the method offers us a definite criterion of Reality: empirically it is the unchanging Witness of the states and transcendentally the Sole Entity. Thus we come to know conclusively what is the Real and what is unreal.

Is the world real? According to this *'vedic'* method, we have to answer thus: The Self being real, views what it sees as real also. Dream is absolutely real to the dreamer. The unreality of a state is seen only when the state is over, for, so long as a state lasts, it must be faithful to the character of its basis, the Self. It is the ever-present Self that accounts for the reality of a state. The order, correspondence, etc., adduced to prove the independence of the external world, is due to the presence of the Self whose nature is all-knowingness. The same accounts for the order and correspondence that we have in our dreams sometimes. Empirically this pure consciousness becomes an Act. Gentile, the Italian Realist, calls it an Act and makes it the Reality. Only he mistakes the empirical status for the transcendental, for act presupposes time. And Gentile's Mind is a creature of Time! Hegel's Absolute idea is merely a logical necessity. But the *Atman* is much more than that and therefore the Upanishad calls it *'Prajnanam'* or the Super-consciousness.

We have thus this distinct advantage in the method of *Avasthathrya,* that we are able to review the whole of our experience for observation and judgment. If we take waking alone, such a feat is impossible. Modern science errs in its conception that waking exhausts the whole of Reality, and thus in granting absolute reality to waking, subordinates the other two states to the waking as its adjuncts, without any warrant of reason or of justification. According to the *'vedic'* view each state is independent and all the three constitute the totality of experience. Thus by taking dream and sleep the *'vedic'* method leaves out nothing of the Self's experience. We come to know conclusively what is the Real and what is unreal. Recent American writers like Mary Whiton Calkins, Dr. Royce and others advocate a personalistic nature-philosophy "which makes it impossible to attribute sorrow or disappointment, yearning or doubt to the Absolute Self which is the all-knowing Person whose will is expressed in this existent uni-

verse of distinctively mental realities." Their Absolute Self is only assumed and not proven. And the *'vedic'* method gives us the only possible proof of the existence of the Absolute Self.

If the Self is the only Reality what about the appearance of 'other minds' and their common stage of free play known as the world? How does this *'vedic'* method answer the problem? We may say that the Self in its absolute freedom and by the very nature of that freedom, creates a whole world of illusory things and factors, all as mere ideas, and in its all-knowingness remains a Witness of them. Freedom seems to create free minds which in their enjoyment of their illusory freedom, forget their common basis, the really true and free Self. With the knowledge of the true Self, the false free minds or egos disappear and are merged beyond recognition in the Absolute Self just as the dream-figures get merged into the waking. The Real Self or Atman is neither benefitted nor emptied by the appearance and disappearance of worlds, minds or egos. This is described beautifully in Brihadaranyaka thus: "Having gone to sleep, the Self creates for itself and out of itself a world of things and men. Having sported in those pleasure gardens and dallied with beautiful women, it withdraws the worlds again into itself." By calling the worlds, minds and egos as illusions, nothing is lost thereby. This is not a method of physical destruction of things and worlds, a consummation so devoutly wished for by Von Hartmann of Germany. The *'vedic'* method is a purely metaphysical method of valuation in terms of human experience and of reconstruction upon the results of valuation. We will still continue to live and do, to sleep and dream, but a knowledge of their unreality will remove their sting for us once for all. It will then be a 'knowing' existence, whose truth can be verified by each and every individual by his or her own ordinary experience. Herein lie the greatness and superiority of the *'vedic'* method over every other method.

Whatever the sceptics might say, a true Vedantin can assure the humanity that there is no cause for misery, that life is real and of the nature of bliss, that soul is free and all bondage is the result of one's free choice. What cannot be mended, should at least be clearly understood. This is what is done by the *'vedic'* method. Knowledge is only a thorough change in the angle of vision, and in the wider outlook on life, is seen as the result 'in life' and not after death. Knowledge is meant for the living only. Death is a precept of the waking state, and one's own death is a metaphysical impossibility. Immortality is seen and proved to be our very nature by the method of *Asvathathrya.* There is no postponement of the day of release after death as all days and nights are only life's activities. Knowledge of the true

nature of our Self removes all fears, doubts and unnecessary hopes. Heaven and Hell are life's ideas, the one a mere solace and the other a threat—who knows anything of them? Here is bliss realisable in life itself, '*here* and *now*' by every thinking creature. For the Self is immortal, all-knowing and absolutely free from any taint of sin or virtue. Vedanta alone can justify Wildon Carr's statement: "It is an illusion to imagine that we can pass out of Reality."

> . . . Strangely graven
> Is the orb of life . . .
> And men in their millions float and flow
> And seethe with a million hopes as leaven;
> And they win their will or they miss their will,
> And hopes are dead or are pined for still;
>   But whoe'er can know
>   As the long days go,
> That to Live is Happy, hath found his Heaven!

The Chidambaram Temple

(Continued)

By

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INSTITUTIONAL.

IV

The Sabha Nayakar temple at Chidambaram is one of the famous shrines of South India and its history from epigraphical and literary references may be traced from the early centuries of the Christian era. Tradition takes its history still further back and according to traditionary accounts, the pagoda arose when the Lord Nataraja together with 3,000 Dikshitars appeared at this place to bless his great devotees, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali. The Dikshitars claim themselves to be of divine origin and according to them, Brahma took them from Tillai to perform a 'Yagam' near Benares where they stayed till Hiranya Varman at the suggestion of the Chidambaram deity invited them back to Chidambaram. When they had arrived they found that there were only 2,999, and a voice from above announced that the God himself, Sabha Nayakar, was the missing one. These traditions seem to imply that from the inception of the temple the Dikshitars have been regarded as a part and parcel of the institution. Tamil Literature tends to confirm the antiquity of the Dikshitars. The earliest literary references to the Dikshitars are to be found in *Dēvāram.* In *Dēvāram,* the sacred books of the Saivites, one of the poet-saints says, "I am the servant and devotee of 'Tillaimoovairavar'."[1] Sundaramurti, in his *Tiruthondathokai,* gives a list of the famous saints. Besides the names of the saints, the list gives the names of nine companies of saints called *Tolkai Adiyargal* to make room for all else who might have attained salvation. Of these, he mentions *Tillaivazh Andanar* (*lit.* the Brahmins living at Chidambaram, but really the 3,000 Brahmins) attached to the shrine as evident from the interpretation of Sekkilar.[1] Sambhandar, one of the *Dēvāram* hymners, in one of his hymns, describes the *Tillaivazh Andanar* as he actually saw them.[2]

1. See தில்லைவாழ்ந்தணர் புராணம் in Periyapuranam.
2. "நீலத்தார் கரியமிடற்றார்நல்ல
நெற்றிமேலுற்ற கண்ணினார்பற்று
சூலத்தார் சுடலைப்பொடி நீறணிவார்சடையார்
சீலத்தார் தொழுதேத்து சிற்றம்பலஞ்" (*Dēvāram*).

Nambi Andar Nambi refers to the *Tillaivazh Andanar* in his "Tirutondartiruvandhadi' in the following quotation :—

"செப்பத்தகுப்புகழ் தில்லைப்பதியிற் செழுமறையோ
ரொப்பப்புவனங் கண்மூன்றினுமும்பரினூரெரித்த
வப்பர்க்கமுதத்திருநடர்க்கந்திப் பிறையணிந்த
துப்பர்குரிமைத் தொழில்புரிவோர் தமைச்சொல்லுதுமே"

Sekkilar's description of the *Tillaivazh Andanar* in Periyapuranam makes it appear that the Dikshitars were well versed in the Sastras and were animated by no other purpose than that of devotion and service to Nataraja. These references in Tamil Literature show very clearly that the Dikshitars have been intimately associated with the Temple even before the hymnal period.

At present the number of Dikshitars have dwindled, and there are now about 250 married members. They are an endogamous clan. They never live outside Chidambaram and they are enjoined not to resort to any other occupation or means of livelihood than that of service and devotion to Nataraja. The Dikshitars have been the hereditary trustees of the temple and the management of the temple and its affairs have been vested entirely in their hands. Every Dikshitar boy, as soon as he is married, becomes as of right a trustee and 'archaka' of the Temple, and his trusteeship is inalienable. The trusteeship does not descend from father to son, but it inheres in every member of the community of the Dikshitars at Chidambaram from his birth so that in a particular family there may be at the same time both father and sons having an equal voice in the management of the institution. In no other temple does a whole community form the trustees and 'archakas' at one and the same time with every member of the community having rights of management from his birth. The Dikshitars are a democratic joint family group for religious purposes, the Lord Nataraja being the family 'Deity' and 'Upasanamoorthi' of every Dikshitar. The worship in the temple is conducted in what is known as *'Vaidik pooja,'* and this temple is the one solitary instance in which this *'Vaidik pooja,'* which resembles in its ritual that of domestic worship, is followed, while the *'pooja'* in other temples in South India is of the *Agama* form.

This temple has had, unlike all other South Indian temples, no landed property. The temple has not received at any time, and does not receive any 'Mohini' or 'Tasdik' allowance from Government. No accounts are kept. Though inscriptions afford instances of permanent

grants of property or other endowments in the name of the Deity by Hindu kings, there is at present no property in the name of the temple. It can only be explained by the fact that the temple has been allowed to be entirely dealt with and managed by the Dikshitars themselves, as if it were their own property. A Dikshitar is entitled to perform 'poojas' and 'archanas' only after he is initiated in the 'pooja'.

The temple worship has been conducted partly by contributions of the Dikshitars themselves from their own funds and by the collection of subscriptions from their constituents, and in the major part, by the periodical benefactions of the numerous devotees. There are six daily 'poojas' which are met out of 'kaṭṭaḷais' established by pious and charitable devotees. The help given by the people by means of money for conducting the necessary affairs of the temple is called 'kaṭṭaḷai'. That these 'kaṭṭaḷais' have been instituted from early times is borne out by some inscriptions. For instance, an inscription on the south *Gōpura* of the temple (right of entrance),[3] and another inscription on the west *Gōpura* of the temple[4] (right of entrance), both dated Śaka 1510, record that provision made by Vaiyappa-Kṛishṇappa-Koṇḍama-Nāyaka for 20 offerings to be distributed among Saiva mendicants (*paradēsi*) in the temple was placed under the supervision of Namaśśivāya-Udaiyār, 'the superintendent of all services' (kaṭṭaḷai). The Dikshitars have nothing to do with these 'kaṭṭaḷais.' The agents of the 'kaṭṭaḷaidars' give the articles necessary for the daily 'pooja' in kind at the time of the 'poojas' and the accounts are kept by them. The Dikshitars are not entitled to ask for the accounts. For every 'kala pooja' there are on an average about six such 'kaṭṭaḷais,' and each of them contributes a small portion of the articles necessary for the 'pooja.' The value of such daily contributions may vary from half rupee to Rs. 3 at the highest.

The numerous festivals celebrated in the temple may be classified as follows:—(a) The monthly or 'Panchaparva' festivals; (b) Other festivals during the year; and (c) The two 'Brahmothsavams' in the months of December and June.[5] These festivals are also celebrated from out of the contributions of various 'Ubayakars'. As regards the two 'Brahmothsavams' which last for 10 days, entire castes, such as

3. Inscription No. 349 of 1913.

4. Inscription No. 362 of 1913.

5. Pachaiyappa, the great educational benefactor, with the assistance of Manali Chinniah Mudaliar, inaugurated the June festival on June 28, 1791. He had the car of the God renovated at that time.

Kaikolars, Vellalars, Oil-mongers, etc., perform the festivals on particular days in the 10 days from out of the subscriptions which they levy from every one of the members of their own caste. The expenses for other annual festivals and the 'panchaparva' festivals are incurred by individual 'Ubayakars.' In many cases, the individual 'Ubayakars' change from year to year.

The only source of income is that derived from the general offerings in the temple and such offerings are, from immemorial usage, the property of all the trustees and constitute the recognised mode of livelihood of the Dikshitars. This immemorial usage has been recognised by Muthuswami Iyer and Shepperd, JJ., as follows :—"About 250 families of Dikshitars reside at Chidambaram and the net income of the temple which is derived from the general offerings is their recognised means of livelihood. According to usage, every Dikshitar is entitled on marriage to take part in the management, to do 'pooja', or perform service in the minor shrines, and to share in the emoluments of the institution."

These offerings are divided among the Dikshitars in the temple. The right of collecting these offerings is given to a batch of 20 Dikshitars who are on duty in the pagoda for 20 days at a time, and they have the charge of the keys of the respective shrines within the temple known as the Five Koyils and the custody of the jewels and other valuable articles in those shrines which are examined once in four days, and they guard the temple during nights. In this manner the right goes round to all the trustees during the year. The key to the common treasury room is with 20 persons who are the 'turn' men. The daily incomes of the temple go to the 'turn' people. If there is a lessee, they will go to him; if not, they will go to the 'turn' men.

The temple servants were originally paid in kind out of the offerings of the temple, but now they are supplemented by small cash payments from the common fund. The ancient and undisputed rule of the temple is that all the Dikshitars manage its affairs in common and that the 'veto' of any one of them is sufficient to prevent the execution of the business. The 'common man' goes to every house and gives verbal instructions that a meeting will take place. The meetings are conducted in a particular portion of the temple. The system of management of the temple is peculiar and unique. Every Dikshitar has a vote and voice in the management of the temple, and they form a truly democratic body. All personal relations and private differences are set aside when the Dikshitars meet in a body to discuss affairs relating to the temple. All questions affecting the management of

the temple are decided at the periodical meetings of the community by the vote of the majority, and the resolutions of the community are recorded in regular books maintained for the purpose. There are elaborate rules and improvised checks for preventing mismanagement and misappropriation, and these rules are strictly followed in the conduct and procedure of their meetings, and in the actual management of temple affairs; and the delinquents are fined or suspended by the resolutions passed by the Dikshitars in their meetings. Rules have been framed for the purpose of checking the various items of jewellery in the temple, and for the purpose of guarding the temple during nights by the Dikshitars themselves. Particular individuals are made responsible for the proper conduct of festivals and other services in the temple by the system of leasing out the right to collect the offerings on these occasions to a few individuals among them at the assembly of the Dikshitars, and making them accountable to the whole body of Dikshitars for the successful conduct of these festivals and services.

The jewels of the Temple contain some which are presents made by various Rajahs. There are lists in the respective temples giving particulars of the names of the Rajahs, the jewels they presented and the places they are kept in. Among them there is a jewel called 'Nalan Pathakkam'. The jewels are safely kept in a box in the respective temples and the keys of the boxes are in the hands of some Dikshitars deputed for the purpose. The person having the key must hand it over the next day to the person taking charge.

V

The Chidambaram temple exemplifies one of the important dancing postures of Śiva.[6] There are many references in early Tamil literature to the dance of Śiva at Chidambaram. Such expressions as செம்பொன்னிலில் எழுதிமேய்ந்த சிற்றம்பல கூத்தனை, தில்லையம்பலக்கூத்தனை, தில்லையம்பலத்தாடுகின்ற அத்தாவுன்னுடல் of Appar and பொன்னம்பலகூத்தா of Manikkavasagar serve to indicate the sacredness of the temple as the place of Śiva's Dance, but the *Dēvāram* hymners do not specify the name of the Deity.

There are many dances of Śiva. The fundamental idea underlying all these dances is more or less the same, *viz.*, the outward expression of primal rhythmic energy. The origin of Śiva's dance is a

6. "The Lord of Tillai's Court, a mystic dance performs
What is that, my dear?" (Tiruvasagam—Pope's Edition.).

most interesting but baffling enquiry. Whatever the origins of Śiva's Dance, it became in time the clearest image of the *activity* of God. It is not possible to interpret here the various dances of Śiva. Some of the well-known dances are the Evening Dance, the Tāṇḍava and the Nadānta Dance of Nataraja.

The Evening Dance in the Himalayas is described in the *Śiva Pradosha Stotra.* In the Evening Dance, Śiva is only two-handed, and the co-operation of the gods is implied in their position of chorus. There is no prostrate Asura under Śiva's feet. One should like to know whether there is any special interpretation of this Dance in Saiva Literature.

Another well-known dance of Śiva is called the *Tāṇḍava.* It belongs to his *tāmasic* aspect as Bhairava and it is in the burning grounds that Śiva performs this dance with Devi. The Tāṇḍava Dance is in origin that of a pre-Aryan deity, afterwards merged in Śiva. An interpretation of this dance is given in Saiva and Sakta Literature.

The next and most important dance for us is the dance of bliss (Ananda-tāṇḍavam) of Nataraja in the golden hall of Tillai and this dance was performed by Śiva to the Gods and the Rishis, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali, who were performing penance in Tillai in order to enjoy the beatific sight of Śiva's Dance. Śiva is best known as the Dancer. His Dance is Evolution, Continuance and Involution. Nataraja is a form of Śiva and the word means 'Lord of the Dance.' Śiva as Nataraja has four arms; he has braided locks and these locks whirl in the dance. On the head are a cobra in a twisted form, a mermaid figure of the Ganges and the crescent moon. He has a man's ear-ring in the right ear, and a woman's in the left. One hand holds a drum sounding the call to all the people who are immersed in *samsara* to go to him for protection; another hand holds fire to give assurance of help to his devotees; of the other two hands, one is raised (*abhaya mudra,* 'do not fear') and the other points to the lifted foot (*kunjita pada*) which confers *moksha* or eternal bliss on all worshippers. Beneath the right leg, there lies the dwarf, Muyalakan. The concept of Nataraja is the synthesis of a long evolution. There are 108 postures of dancing according to the Bhāratiya Nāṭya-Śāstra. The postures recommended in dancing to please the *daityas* are numberless and a selected list of 108 of them called *Karanas* or single postures and 32 selected *Angahāras* (combinations of two or more of these *karanas*) are fully described. In the east and west Gōpuras of the Chidambaram temple, these *Karanas* are found cut on stones with appropriate

verses from the Nātya-Sāstra underneath each of the postures. Only 93 of these postures were recovered, the remaining 15 were either damaged or the compartments of the Gōpura altered during the repairs done to the temple. These postures are found in Bharata's order for about 60 numbers, and then owing to mason's or supervisor's ignorance or on account of some subsequent alteration in the construction, the remaining 48 are not in the order followed by Bharata. Kopperunjinga-deva, who set up an independent kingdom against the Cholas between 1243 and 1273 A.D., was the patron of these decorative sculptures in the Naṭaraja Temple. These sculptures are published in the report of the Archaeological Department—Epigraphy (1914).

The interpretation of the Dance of Nataraja is found in some of the well-known works in Tamil Literature, *viz.*, Tirumular's *Tirumantram, Unmaivilakkam, Chidambara Mummaṇikovai.* Umapathi's *Koilpuranam* (Stanza 66) describes the Dance of Nataraja as representing the Panchakrityam (பஞ்ச கிருத்தியம்.) What then is the significance of the Dance of Śiva at Tillai? The cosmic activity is the central motif of the Dance. The Dance represents his five activities (Panchakritya) *viz., Srishti* (creation), *Sthiti* (preservation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion, etc.), *Anugraha* (grace). Creation arises from the drum; protection proceeds from the hand of hope; from fire proceeds destruction; the raised foot implies salvation; and the fourth hand pointing to the lifted foot represents the refuge of the soul. All this symbolism is well explained in *Unmaivilakkam* (verse 36) and *Chidambara Mummaṇikovai.* Again, the symbolism of the Dance is explained in the *Tirukuttu Darshana* (Vision of the Sacred Dance) of Tirumular's *Tirumantram.* A true Bhakta is one who keeps in himself nothing but the thought of God so that He alone may abide and dance therein. A discerning and sympathetic critic of Indian art observes: "The essential significance of Śiva's Dance is three-fold: First it is the image of his Rhythmic Play as the source of all Movement within the cosmos which is represented by the Arch; secondly, the Purpose of his Dance is to Release the countless souls of men from the Snare of Illusion; thirdly, the Place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the Heart."

The following extracts from the *Śtalapuranas* explain the symbolism of the temple:—

(Canto 15):—There is a Sabha called Ambara which is the abode of all good. In it I constantly dance in happiness. It is known as Chidambaram, and consequently it is revered by all.

* * * *

(Canto 18):—As I who am pure occupy the soul which is in the body, even so in the world which is (like) the body, I sport in Chidambaram.

* * * *

(Canto 85):—This called Chidambaram is (my) body, and I am the free soul.

* * * *

(Pundarikapura Mahatmyam, Canto 59):—That Sabha (hall) is of the nature of Chit (Divine knowledge), and there is no doubt it is of the nature of Chit.

* * * *

(Thillavana Mahatmyam, Canto 63):—The Chit Sabha which is in the middle of Virat Purusha.

* * * *

Mahamaya is in the middle, facing the south. In the western wall, pure Shirodana is said to reside. But in the eastern part there is the independent Maya in the shape of a wall. It (the wall) is the cause of the creation and absorption of the nine Tattvas beginning with Brahma. The screen is said to be Thirodha Sakti having the shape of Prasada.

* * * *

Of the length of 96 Angulas of the same breadth.

* * * *

The Vedhi of Darsana shines on the southern part. The yantram of that name is small, invisible and imperceptible.

* * * *

It is the mine of Kama Dhenu; and it is the abode of Sankha and other Nidhis. It is well worshipped by Swarna Karshana Bhairava and the eight Lakshmis.

* * * *

On its left side is placed the excellent Sparsana Chakra.

* * * *

The Vedas, Rig, Yaju, Sama and Atharvana, the Puranas, Agamas, the Arts, the Mechanical Arts, sacred knowledge, etc., accordingly went soon to Pundarikapuram. The 64 Kalas and Vidyas (branches of knowledge) have on earth changed (their shape) as Vidyas.

* * * *

They separately took their abode in the several places in the shape of pillars, mountains, beams, windows, wood, nails, gold plates, silver, copper, stone and earth.

* * * *

In the south-east is Rig (Veda); the siras or head is in the middle. These two are said to be pillars. There are two (others) on the west.

* * * *

These reside in Sadasiva Pita over it. But in Iswara Pita there are shastras numbering as many as there are karmas, i.e., (six). These with the Angas exist in the shape of pillars under Sada.

* * * *

The pillars consisting of (representing) the five elements are in Rudra's Vedi.

* * * *

In the middle of Vishnu's Vedi there are various kinds of Tattvas. The Tattvas are in the shape of windows according to different sorts.

* * * *

The group of 96 Tattvas is clearly here in the shape of windows in five rows. In their midst the Agamas have come in the shape of pillars. The great Goddess of Divine Knowledge consisting of Chit has taken visible form and this incomparable salvation has taken its abode in the southern doorway.

* * * *

On the upper part ceiling of the Sabha all the 64 Kalas (Arts) taking the shape of beams existing separately.

* * * *

The various worlds numbering 224 are in the shape of planks. The inspirations and expirations numbering 21,600 are like gold leaf.

* * * *

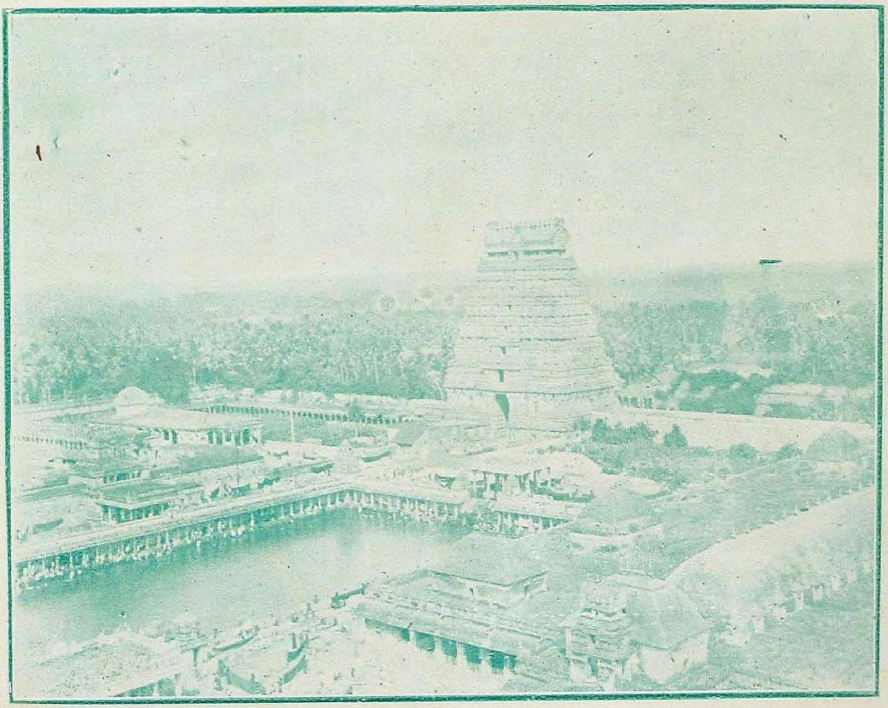
All the various kinds of nerves numbering 72,000 having taken the shape of nails.

* * * *

The saktis, Vama, Gyestha, Rowdri, Kali, Kalivikarini, Bali, Balavikarini, Pramathani, Manonmani, these exist in the shape of stupis (domes).

* * * *

In conclusion, I may add that the foregoing sketch of the temple is a tentative collection of materials rather than a finished work. It is hoped that students of South Indian history will work up these materials into a good monograph on the temple.



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE TEMPLE.

Industries in India.*

By

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India now ranks as one of the eight industrial countries of the world, yet agriculture is the principal industry and gives occupation to the vast majority of its population. The census returns of 1921 show that 73·9% of the population in British India are engaged in or dependent on agriculture and pastoral pursuits. The population of India living on agriculture has been steadily on the increase, for in the year 1891 it was about 61 per cent; it rose to 66 per cent in 1901, and to 73 per cent in 1921.

The Indian Famine commissions of 1880, 1898 and 1901, the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1903, the Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1925, the Economic Enquiry Committee, (Madras) 1931, the Royal Commission on Agriculture and other Commissions which have reported from time to time, have clearly pointed out that "the outstanding feature of Indian Rural Economy which is bound to arrest the attention of any one who enters on an investigation of the question is the appaling poverty of the rural population."

The cultivators in all parts of India are deeply involved in debt,[1] and speaking about the degree of poverty prevailing among them, Dr. G. Slater says: "Of the Pallans, Parayans, Cherians, etc., on whose toil the cultivation of the rice fields in South India mainly depends, it may be said generally that their earnings in grain and corn barely suffice for the subsistance of families large enough to maintain their numbers from one generation to another, the surplus offspring dying; they are habitually hungry and it is only because they make their own huts in their spare time, collect their own fuel, need scarcely any clothing, and enjoy abundant sunshine, that they can subsist at all."

Such then is the state of the agricultural population which forms the majority of the people of India. Owing to seasonal vicissitudes and the want of proper irrigation facilities there is often

* In a series of articles of which this forms a general introduction, I intend tracing the growth and development of industries such as Cotton, Iron, Steel, Jute, Coal, Sugar, Paper and Cement in India.

1. A very rough estimate of the total rural indebtedness of India is about Rs. 900 crores and the volume of agricultural indebtedness is increasing. (See The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1931, Vol. I, page 55.)

a failure of crops, and the consequence is "that the average cultivator still continues to live on an insufficiency of food which reacts on his physical capacity for work and largely accounts for the high percentage of mortality in the country."[2]

In 1927-28 the total net area sown with crops was about 220 million acres which works out at one acre per head of the agricultural population, and if we take the total gross value of the agricultural produce on the basis of the 1928 price level it comes to about 1200 crores of rupees which means approximately Rs. 42 as the average annual income per agriculturist in British India. There can be no doubt whatsoever as to the reasons for the steady degeneration of the economic position of the cultivator in spite of his high inherited skill in husbandry. In 1880, the Indian Famine Commission pointed out that "a main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian famines and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of providing relief in an effectual shape is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the population directly depends on agriculture and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the community derives its support. The failure of the usual rains thus deprives the labouring classes as a whole not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means for procuring them. The complete remedy for this condition of things will be found only in the development of industries other than agriculture, and independent of fluctuations of seasons. With a population as dense as that of India, these considerations are of the greatest weight, and they are rendered still more serious by the fact that the members who have no other employment than agriculture are, in large parts of the country, greatly in excess of what is really required for cultivation of the land. So far as this is the case, the result must be that the part of the population which is in excess of the requirements of agriculture eats up the profit that would otherwise spring from the industry of the community. It is not surprising in a country thus situated that material progress is slow."

It is clear from the above that in order to improve and accelerate the country's material progress, attempts should be made for the full utilisation of its natural resources. It is necessary that a thorough study of all possible ways and means should be made to give the people of the country diversified employment, to enable them to "participate to a much greater degree in the working of existing industries and to indicate the measures necessary to establish all those

2. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, page 40.

industries for which there are natural facilities which at present cannot be utilized for varied reasons, most of which are well known. That India can become a great industrial country is not possible and it must look to the improvement of agriculture for any great amelioration of the condition of its many millions. It can, however, advance far beyond its present status and it is urgent that progress in that direction should be accelerated."[3]

So it has been argued that in the interest of the agricultural population of India as well as from the purely economic point of view, the need for the industrialisation of India is great. To solve the question how we could best increase the agricultural holdings[4] and income, it is essential that pressure on land should be relieved to a certain extent; other possible methods to improve the position of the masses in India are by emigration, extensive and intensive cultivation and industrial development.

Emigration from India to other parts of the British Empire exceeds two millions. The emigrants are distributed as follows.[5]

Ceylon	820,000
British Malaya	660,000
Mauritius	274,000
Union of South Africa	161,000
Trinidad	126,000
British Guiana	125,000
Fiji Islands	61,000
East Africa	55,000

This opening however has practically been closed, and the Indian people are opposed to sending Indian workers to other countries. The indentured system was first started in 1834; by this, simple and illiterate workers of India were recruited and sent to strange lands where they were bound to estates and could not move without a permit. In these conditions they had to stay for 5 years, and often they had no other recourse than to re-indenture themselves. The life of the average indentured labourer was extremely miserable. Indians who had developed land by their labour in such places as Kenya and Africa,

3. "Modern Economic Trend," by Sir A. Chatterton, C.I.E., Capital, February 27, 1930. page 465.

4. In extreme cases, the condition is ludicrous: in Ratnagiri, for instance, the size of individual plots is sometimes as small as 1|160th of an acre, or 30¼ square yards. (C.M.D. 3132, page 1341.)

5. Cmd. 3132, page 583.

on its being found that their labour was no longer required, had to submit to a policy of Asiatic exclusion by which every attempt was made to render the life of indentured labourers worse. It is not necessary here to recount the various hardships and difficulties that arose out of the indentured system, or the economic and political justification for such action. But in India a strong agitation against the indentured system was started and the Government of India was requested to stop recruitment of labour to Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji. Nor is it possible here to enter in detail upon the various measures that were taken, but it is sufficient to say that in the end Lord Harding gave an assurance that this system would be abandoned, and by the passing of a law in 1922 the indentured system was completely abolished.

Owing to the low standard of Indian labour and the fear of severe competition, Indian labourers are not wanted in other countries and hence this medium of improvement too is completely closed. In present conditions emigration to improve the standard and relieve the overcrowded population is impossible and therefore only two other possible courses are left for bettering the conditions of the masses of India. These are extensive and intensive cultivation and industrial development.

It has been pointed out that in India agriculture is the basic industry, and in a country where large numbers of the population directly or indirectly live on agriculture, it is essential that this basic industry should be improved in order that the standard of life may be raised. But unfortunately, at present there is little intensive production, for, with the use of primitive implements, inferior seed and material, and without proper manure or sufficient capital, everything conduces to a very low yield. Hence the production of material commodities in India should be intensified and methods of production modernised.

According to the recent agricultural Commission's report, the areas under various crops are 80 million acres under rice, some 24 million acres under wheat, 33 million under great millets, 18 million under cotton, 14 million under the principal oil seeds and 14 million under grain.

According to agricultural statistics (1923-'24) the total area of British India is 667,468,000 acres, classified as follows:—

	Acres.	Per cent.
Forests ..	85,976,000	13
Not available for cultivation ..	151,841,000	23
Culturable waste other than fallow ..	154,602,000	23·5
Current fallow ..	49,600,000	7·5
Net area sown ..	222,490,000	33

Deducting the area covered by forests, barren and unculturable land, buildings and roads, there is a balance of 426,092,000 acres of which nearly 223,000,000 acres are cultivated, leaving approximately 203,699,000 not cultivated. Thus a large area available for cultivation is allowed to lie fallow or unused, and so even from the extensive point of view the maximum return is not obtained.

India is able to produce almost all she needs in the shape of food stuffs and raw materials. Taking the average of the five pre-war years, India exported 9% of her output of rice, 15% of her wheat, 36% of the production of oil seeds, 51% of jute and 56% of cotton. In spite of all this, cultivation covers only 59% of the total cultivable area and the method of production is inefficient. Low production in India is, as indicated earlier, due to various causes such as the use of bad implements, want of capital, want of scientific knowledge, want of manure, and the subdivision and fragmentation of the lands.

To be brief, India has a wealth of natural resources in the shape of fertile soil and plenty of water if properly tapped, and yet the backwardness of agriculture strikes even the casual observer. It is essential to awaken the agriculturalist to the adoption of scientific methods and to the efficient management of farms. There should be some scheme to bring under cultivation good land which at present lies fallow or uncultivated. The lands which belong to the Government should be distributed at cheap prices so that they may be cultivated. There is a tendency to increase the area under cultivation of such crops as jute and cotton, so that they may be exported and a return in money be obtained. This would not be possible if such crops as rice or wheat were cultivated instead. In order that the teeming millions of Indians should have food, Indian agriculture must be organised and intensified primarily to meet the requirements of the country itself. We cannot dwell upon the various ways of improving agriculture in India and raising the standard of the cultivators who form the larger proportion of the population. One can only refer to the Lord Linlithgow Commission which states: "The demand for a better life can, in our opinion, be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of the countryside, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement rests with the Government." It goes on to say that in spite of the increased expenditure in recent years it is felt "that these forces are inadequately appreciated by the Government of India and by local Governments, and that the necessity that the rural problem should be attacked as a whole, and all points simultaneously, is still insufficiently

present in their minds. If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome, it is essential that all the resources at the disposal of the State should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. What is required is an organised and sustained effort by all those departments whose activities touch the lives and the surroundings of the rural population."[6]

It is therefore essential, for raising the standard of life of the population of India, to promote the prosperity of the whole population and to enhance the national income at the source. To achieve this a comprehensive policy must be followed, and, as the commission says. "it must be undertaken immediately, and the responsibility to give effect to such a policy must remain that of Government and Government alone."

Apart from the improvement of agriculture, there is a dominant opinion in India, that a further solution might be found in rapid industrialisation. Mr. Moreland in 1917 observed: "It is matter of common knowledge that the present income of the country, even if it were equitably distributed, would not suffice to provide the population with even the indispensable elements of a reasonable life. This fundamental factor of poverty is unquestionably co-related with the undue preponderance of Agriculture as a means of livelihood."[7] The Famine Commission of 1880 also pointed out "that the only remedy for the recurring disasters of famine is the rapid industrialisation of the country, providing diversified employments for the people."

It has been repeatedly said that India will primarily remain an agricultural country, but this does not mean that there should not be any industrial development. No doubt agriculture will continue to be the occupation of the great mass of the people, but at the same time India contains extensive deposits of coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, copper, as well as other valuable products out of which important industries can be built. In this connection, it is clear that India's industrial development can be continued without hindrance, if she takes lessons from other countries and tries to avoid those mistakes that have brought bitterness between capital and labour elsewhere. By this and this alone can her industrial development be accelerated.

The government of the country must also play its part. "India is exactly like America in regard to all the natural advantages for a successful organization of industry; why is the U. S. A. to-day in the forefront

6. Cmd. 3132, 1928, page 672.
7. Quarterly Review. 1917.

of industrial nations and India amongst the backward members? The answer to the query is to be found in the absence of a national economic policy on the part of the state. The American Government was determined to make the most of what nature has, in her abundance, given her; the Indian Government has been either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the great blessings which Nature has endowed this country with. We are firmly persuaded that if the Indian Government, like the American Government, makes up its mind now, measures could be taken for converting the potential wealth of the country into kinetic wealth, and India could occupy a proud place amongst the industrial nations of the world within a decade or two."[8]

The perquisites of Industrialisation viz., men, money, materials and motive power are available in plenty if only proper organizations can be established to tap them. Labour to work the factories can be found in any quantity, and there is abundance of raw material and primary agricultural products. The market is unlimited, for India, with one-fifth of the population of the world, affords one of the largest markets at the very door of the indigenous industries. Coal in certain provinces is obtainable for providing power for the factories at an economic price; hydro-electric sources could be developed for the purpose in certain other provinces. Already hydro-electric schemes are found in different places in India. The Cauveri falls have been harnessed in Mysore and the average power generated is 14,310,000 B.T. units per month. Then there is the enterprise of the Tata Hydro-Electric Scheme which embraces three companies, namely, Tata Hydro-Electric Power Company, Andhra Valley Power Company and Tata Power Company. The full investigation of the Pykara Hydro power scheme in Madras shows that it is capable of producing 100,000 horse power and thus could supply cheap power for many districts in the Madras Presidency. The hydro-electric scheme of the United Provinces and the Uhl project of the Punjab are of great potential promise. Hence all the necessities for the building up of industries in India are available and nothing further is required beyond a national economic policy on the part of the state for the achievement of the economic regeneration of the country which would make "India great and glorious alike for her own good and for the good of the world."

We need not dwell in detail upon the importance of such an industrial development but it may be summarised in a few words. Industrial development in India will achieve a general rise in level of

8. Indian Finance Year Book, 1932. page 5.

the wealth and welfare of the population, will tap the capital resources at present lying unused, will relieve the country from the danger of being too greatly dependent upon agricultural pursuits which are subject to seasonal fluctuations, will absorb much of the unemployed labour of the country, and, by raising the average condition of the individual, will enable the state to increase its revenue by further taxation. Lastly, opportunity will be afforded for the beneficial development of national character; the spirit of enterprise and commercial adventure will be stimulated; and ample scope for scientific work and inventions will be provided by commercial and industrial necessity.[9] This would redound to the credit of the nation as a whole and enable her to take a higher place in the world of science and thought and education.

It has been maintained that India is destined by nature to be an agricultural country and that the idea of industrial organisation has never played a prominent part throughout her past. It cannot be disputed that the country has always been largely agricultural and has never been an industrial country in the modern sense of the term. The statement however that there have never been important industries in India can be disproved by an appeal to her past history.

The report of the Indian Industrial Commission begins with the following observation. "At a time when the West of Europe, the birthplace of the modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilized tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers, and for the high artistic skill of her craftsman. And even at a much later period, when the merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was at any rate not inferior to that of more advanced European nations." We are told in the same report that "the iron industry not only supplied all local wants, but it also enabled India to export its finished products to foreign countries. The quality of the material turned out had also a worldwide fame. The Indian steel was once in considerable demand even in England for making cutlery."

As regards iron manufactures, Professor Wilson says: "Casting iron is an art that has been practised in this manufacturing country (England) only recently. The Hindus have the art of smelting iron, of welding it, and of making steel, and have had these arts from time immemorial."

9. See Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission 1921-22, page 23.
10. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-1919. Chairman Sir T. H. Holland, D.Sc., F.R.S. (Cmd. 51).

It is well known to all students of Indian history that the skill of Indians in producing fine muslins, and the arts of cotton spinning and cotton weaving reached a very high state of proficiency, and the products were in great demand in Western countries. "The skill of the Indians" says Professor Weber, "in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones, the preparation of essences and in all manner of technical arts, has from early times enjoyed a world wide celebrity."

"Less than a hundred years ago," wrote Sir Henry Cotton in 1890, "the whole commerce of Decca was estimated at one crore of rupees, and its population at 200,000 souls. In 1787 the exports of Decca muslin to England amounted to 30 lakhs of rupees; in 1817 they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving, which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrial population, have now become extinct." Attempts were made to keep the industries from dying and according to Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, "In the first four years of the nineteenth century, in spite of all prohibitions and restrictive duties, six to fifteen thousand bales of cotton piece-goods were annually shipped from Calcutta to the United Kingdom. The figure rapidly fell until 1813. The opening of trade to private merchants in that year caused a sudden rise in 1815; but the increase was temporary. After 1820 the manufacture and export of cotton piece-goods declined steadily, never to rise again".[11]

These goods were produced cheaply and India was thus able to compete with other countries. Commenting on the prosperity of the silk and cotton goods trade of India, Prof. Wilson, the historian of India, wrote[12] "that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period (1813) could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from 50-60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70-80% on their value, or by positive prohibition."

Another important industry was shipbuilding. This industry also gradually succumbed and never revived again. Lord Wellesly, reporting about the prosperity of the shipping industry in India, said: "The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of shipbuilding has

11. Economic History of British India, by Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, page 296.
12. See The History of British India by James Mill, Vol. II, pages 14 and 15.

already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British Merchants of Bengal."[13]

Thus we see India had prosperous industries in the past, and her products especially her silk and cotton goods and the muslins of Decca were known all over the world, and therefore India according to the Sir Balfour Commission Report ranks as "one of the oldest seats of the cotton industry, and in the early days of the East India Company, her muslins and other fine products were unrivalled in quality."[14]

The East India Company and the European traders came, therefore, to India not to secure the raw produce of the country but to get the great variety of valuable manufactured goods available there. Mr. Moreland estimates that the annual demand of the English merchants alone was something over 100,000 pieces, and to this must be added Dutch exports. Indian weavers profited substantially by this new export trade, and the gain derived from it must have been considerable. In spite of all this it should be understood that there were no factories in the modern sense existing at that time in India. Nor were the goods made to suit the taste of the customers. Generally, weaving was done within reach of the seaboard, "to serve the specific purpose of providing cloth for particular Asiatic markets, and European merchants had to adapt themselves to the arrangements which they found at work".[15] The weavers had little capital and therefore advances were taken against future delivery. The production was organized in numerous small units which were hindered to a large extent by a scarcity of capital, and the essence of the business was to adjust and to follow the market. As Mr. Moreland writes: "The position occupied by the weavers stands out clearly in the mercantile correspondence of the period; in one sense each man worked for himself, in another he was in the power of the capitalist who advanced the funds required to buy materials and support him while at work."

During the Sikh period (1819-46) thousands of men, women and children were employed in the woollen industry, and Kashmir shawls were exported to Europe. Moorcraft, an English traveller, visited

13. Quoted from Mr. Digby—Prosperous British India—page 86.

14. Committee on Industry and Trade. Survey of Textile Industries (Cotton, Wool and Artificial Silk), 1928, pages 99, 51, 148.

15. From Akbar to Aurangzeb. A Study in Indian Economic History, by W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., pages 135 and 136.

Kashmir in order to find out the methods of manufacture of shawls, and after learning the same sent full information which resulted in the manufacture of shawls in Paisley and the complete destruction of this industry in Kashmir. There were other industries flourishing in Kashmir during this period such as paper-making and carpet weaving, but the most flourishing industry was shawl-making and the prices of these shawls varied from Rs. 60 to Rs. 2,200 or from Rs. 180 to Rs. 6,600 in terms of the present currency. Next to land revenue, the duty on shawls formed the most important source of revenue, and out of the total production of 105 lakhs (of the present day British rupee), the government got 12 lakhs in the way of *ad valorum* duty.[16]

Such then were Indian conditions in the later half of the 18th century, but after 1817 the economic life of India began to change rapidly for the worse and India became a predominantly agricultural country. To make matters completely clear it would be essential here to discuss the whole economic history of India of this period, the political situation and the policy followed by the East India Company before we could point out all the causes that led to India's decline from the industrial point of view. Space, however, does not permit us to go into detail and describe and argue on those points, and hence we shall be content to limit ourselves to the discussion of only two or three important causes.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were vast, revolutionary changes in the methods of production in Great Britain, and the domestic system was replaced by the factory system which, with the new inventions accompanying it, made possible production on a large scale. In order to push the export trade of cheap goods thus produced various methods of encouragement were given. The period which saw the rapid growth of English industries coincided with the growth of her control over her Indian possessions.

The capitalists who financed the building of the factories were out to accumulate wealth, no matter what this might involve to those who laboured for them. The prevalent theory of 'laissez faire', the absence of factory legislation and humanitarian ideals conduced to the extreme exploitation of the workers. Such capitalists did their best "to dis-

16. Kashmir under the Sikhs, by P. N. K. Banerji, B.A., I. J. of E., Vol. XIII, S. No. 48.

courage the manufactures of India and colonies." Indian cotton manufactures were liable to the following charges in England.[17]

	£	s.	d.
Calicoes for every £100 value	81	2	11
Cotton raw (per 100 lbs.)	6	16	11
Cotton manufactured	81	2	11
Hair or Goats' wool manufactured	84	6	3
Flowered and stitched muslins of white Calicoes (for every £100 in value)	32	9	2
Other manufactures of cotton not otherwise charged ..	32	8	2

Apart from the shutting out of Indian manufactures in this way, the superiority of British machinery enabled English merchants to sell their goods in Indian Markets. In this way British manufactures gained ground in Indian markets, and Indian manufactures lost grounds proportionately. Sir George Tucker observes that at this period (1823) "the silk manufactures of India and its piece goods of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our market; and of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67%, but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics which heretofore constituted the staple industry of India have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures[18] to supply part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."[19]

Moreover at this time it was still held that the colonies were merely plantations, useful in supplying Britain with raw materials in order that she might manufacture goods and return them to the Colonies. This policy of discouraging the manufacture of goods in British possessions was vigorously followed till the American War of Independence. Thus India in the early part of the 19th century also began to supply raw materials and gradually became a plantation "growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to India by

17. Quoted from Cmd. 51, page 250.

18. Up to 1801, the cotton goods sent out from England to India amounted in value to £21,000; by 1813 they had risen to £108,824. At the end of the century it was just under £20,000,000. In the year before the war it had risen to £44,581,000. (Cmd. 51).

19. Taken from R. C. Dutt's Economic History of British India, page 262.

British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere".[20]

It was in this way that India became mainly dependent "on the single and somewhat precarious resources of agriculture." This process of ruralization went on for a century and brought with it many miseries, especially during the series of famines that followed. At last the people of India have come to realize the importance of adopting modern methods of manufacture and the necessity of seriously applying themselves to the revival and encouragement of indigenous industries which have already died out or are on the way to extinction. During the opening years of this century a cry for industrialization began with the rise of a national feeling in India; this cry for industrialization increased, and the victory of Japan over Russia gave encouragement and "left an abiding impression on India's imagination." It was argued that wealth and production all round were low and that "the enormous population has little to spare for more than necessaries of life." So in order that satisfactory conditions for the people as a whole might be secured, the national income must show a speedy rise which can be secured largely by industrialisation.

A country cannot depend entirely on agriculture alone for her prosperity and as a famine commission rightly says: "Much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks they are exposed to in seasons of scarcity lies in the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistance in manufactures or some such employments".[21]

Agricultural wealth can be developed only when industries and commerce flourish. The War gave a special emphasis to an active policy of stimulating industries, and the urgent necessity of such development is advocated by the authors of the Montague-Chelmsford report when they say that "on all grounds, a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well poised, up-to-date country, in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Govern-

20. Ranade: Essays on Indian Economics (1898), page 99.
21. Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880: Part II, page 175. C—2735.

ment service or to a few overstocked professions, and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends, and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them".[22]

We see therefore that both the people of India and the Government are trying to encourage the Indian Industrial movement and to develop indigenous industries. It can be safely said that the Government of India was unwilling to do anything in support of this policy up to 1916 and gave their support reluctantly even after that. The war and the Montague reforms however, made the Government of India abandon a 'laissez faire' policy towards Indian industries and take a somewhat active interest in them.

It should be noted however that the progress towards the industrialization of India will not be rapid but only gradual. England and other countries had and have facilities which India does not possess. India is not politically free and the geographical conditions and the mentality of her people make it impossible for the country to adapt herself quickly to new conditions that are required for the rapid development of industry. Apart from this, the immense size of the country and the lack of means of communication and various other difficulties make speedy progress impossible. The Government has now undertaken railway construction on a large scale and efforts are at last being made to exploit the mineral resources of the country, "but a more powerful and better directed stimulus is needed to start the economic development of India along the path of progress. Such a stimulus can only be supplied by an organised system of technical, financial, and administrative assistance."

(To be continued.)

22. Montague-Chelmsford Report (Cmd. 9109) of 1918, page 267.

On an Arithmetic Function concerning Primes*

By

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1. Let $p(n)$ be the greatest prime not exceeding n

and $$n_{r+1} = n_r - p(n_r).$$

Then $n = n_1 = n_2 + p(n_1)$

$$n_2 = n_3 + p(n_2)$$

$$\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots$$

$$n_r = n_{r+1} + p(n_r)$$

Adding, $n = p(n_1) + p(n_2) + \cdots + p(n_r) + n_{r+1}$

Though 1 is not usually regarded as a prime, for convenience let us call 1 also a prime. So, in this paper, 'a prime' means either a prime in the ordinary sense or 1. When n_r is a prime, $p(n_r) = n_r$; and $n_{r+1} = 0$ Let us stop at that stage. Then

$$n = p(n_1) + p(n_2) + \cdots + p(n_r). \tag{1}$$

It is clear that every positive integer can be represented in the above form. These primes are all different and are in decreasing order. This easily follows from Bertrand's postulate. Obviously the representation is unique. When n is a prime $r = 1$; when n_2 is a prime $r = 2$; and so on. This r is certainly a function of n and so let us represent it by $R(n)$. That is, $R(n)$ is the number of primes required

* This problem was suggested to me by Prof. K. Ananda Rao. I merely mentioned the main results in my paper *"On some empirical theorems of Scherk"* in the *Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society*, Vol. XVII (1928). The proofs are given here.

to represent n in the form (1). What can we say about R(n) in the general case? The problem raises the following interesting questions:—

(1) Is R(n) bounded or not in the general case?

(2) What is its maximum order?

(3) For what classes of numbers is R(n) maximum?

Except the first one, the others seem to be extremely difficult. The main results proved in this paper are

$$(1) \qquad \overline{\lim_{n \to \infty}}\, R(n) = \infty$$

$$(2) \qquad R(n) = o(\log n)$$

$$(3) \qquad R(n) < 2 \log \log n \qquad \text{on the Riemann hypothesis.}$$

2. To answer question (1), we want the help of the following

Lemma:—If n be any positive integer, then we can find two consecutive primes p_1 and p_2 whose difference is greater than $n + 1$.

Let p be the prime immediately succeeding n, and P be the product of all the primes not exceeding p. Then, when t is a positive integer satisfying the condition

$$p + 1 \geq t \geq 2$$

$P + t$ is composite; for, any prime factor of t is also a factor of P. Hence, between $P + 2$ and $P + p + 1$ (both inclusive), there is no prime. So, if p_1 be the greatest prime not exceeding $P + 1$, and p_2 the prime immediately succeeding p_1, then

$$p_2 \geq P + p + 2$$

$$\therefore \quad p_2 - p_1 \geq P + p + 2 - (P + 1) = p + 1 \geq n + 2.$$

Hence the lemma.

Now we are in a position to answer question number (1). Taking the notation of the lemma, let $N = n + p_1$. Then, by the lemma, there is no prime between p_1 and N. Therefore, $p(N) = p_1$ and $p_1 > n$.

So, N requires one more prime than n: Consequently,

$$R(N) = R(n) + 1. \tag{2}$$

Thus, given any positive integer, we can find another which requires one more prime. So, given any positive integer r, we can find an integer n such that $R(n) \geq r$. Hence,

$$\overline{\lim_{n \to \infty}} \ R(n) = \infty.$$

3. A. If $\pi(x)$ denote the number of primes less than x, then it is known that

$$\pi(x) = \int_2^x \frac{du}{\log u} + O\left(x e^{-\lambda \sqrt{\log x}}\right) \qquad , \lambda > 9.$$

So, given t a positive integer, we can find x_0 such that for all $x \geq x_0$

there is at least one prime between x and $x\left\{1 - \dfrac{1}{(\log x)^t}\right\}$ (4)

Let n be very great compared to x_0. Then with the notation in § 1, we get

$$n = n_1 = n_2 + p(n_1)$$

From (4), it follows that $p(n_1) > n\left\{1 - \dfrac{1}{(\log n)^t}\right\}$

So, $\quad n_2 < n \ (\log n)^{-t}$

$\quad n_3 < n_2 \ (\log n_2)^{-t}$

$\quad \dots\dots\dots\dots$

$\quad$ † $n_{r+1} < n_r (\log n_r)^{-t}$, $\qquad$ provided $n_r > x_0$

Therefore,

$$n_{r+1} < n\left\{\log n \log n_2 \dots \log n_r\right\}^{-t} < n(\log n_r)^{-rt} \tag{5}$$

† Here r has not the particular significance assigned in I.

Let $1 \leq n_{r+1} < \sqrt[t]{n} \leq n_r$ and $n_r > x_0$ (6)

Then, from (5) and (6)

$$1 \leq n_{r+1} < n \, (\log \sqrt[t]{n})^{-tr}$$

Therefore,

$$r < \frac{\log n}{(\log \log n - \log 2)\, t} \tag{7}$$

Let r_s be the number of primes required to reduce the remainder from $x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s-1}}$ to $x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s}}$ where $x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s}} \geq xo$

Then, from (7)

$$r_s < \frac{\log x}{2^{s-1} t \, (\log \log x - s \log 2)} = T_s \text{ (say)}. \tag{8}$$

Now,

$$\frac{T_s}{T_{s+1}} = 2 \left\{ 1 - \frac{\log 2}{\log \log x - s \log 2} \right\}$$

$$\text{So, if } s < \frac{\log \log x}{\log 2} - 2, \text{ then } T_{s+1} < T_s \tag{9}$$

$$\text{Let } x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s}} \geq x_0 > x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s+1}} \text{ and } \frac{\log \log x_0}{\log 2} > 2 \tag{10}$$

Then, from (8) and (9),

$$r_k < T_1 \qquad (k = 1, 2, \ldots \ldots s).$$

Therefore,

$$r_1 + \ldots + r_s < T_1 \times s = \frac{\log x}{t \, (\log \log x - \log 2)} \times \frac{\log \log x - \log \log x_0}{\log 2}$$

$$< \frac{\log x}{t \log 2};$$

for, from (10), $s \leq \dfrac{\log \log x - \log \log x_0}{\log 2}$.

Now, $x^{(\frac{1}{2})^{s}} < x_0^2$.

Let Maximum $R(m) = b$, $(m = 1, 2, \ldots, x_0^2)$.

Then

$$R(x) \leq r_1 + r_2 + \ldots\ldots + r_s + b \leq \frac{\log x}{t \log 2} + b$$

$$< \frac{2 \log x}{t \log 2} \qquad \text{when } x > a(x_0)^*$$

Now t can be taken as large as we please.

So

$$R(x) = o(\log x).$$

By assuming the Riemann hypothesis, the upper limit for R (x) can be reduced further. On that hypothesis,

$$\pi(x) = \int_2^x \frac{du}{\log u} + O(\sqrt{x} \log x).$$

So, given δ, an arbitrarily small positive number, we can find x_0 such that for all $x \geq x_0$, there is at least one prime between x and $x^{1/2 + \delta}$

Let $x = n_1$. Then

$$p(n_1) > n_1 - n_1^{1/2 + \delta} = x - x^{1/2 + \delta}$$

$$\therefore \quad n_2 = n_1 - p(n_1) < x^{1/2 + \delta}$$

$$n_3 < n_2^{1/2 + \delta} < x^{(1/2 + \delta)^2}$$

. . . .

. . . .

$$n_{r+2} < x^{(1/2 + \delta)^r} \text{ provided } n_r \geq x_0$$

Let $n_{r+2} < x_0 \leq n_{r+1}$ Then,

$$x^{(1/2 + \delta)r} \geq x_0$$

$$\therefore \quad (1/2 + \delta)^r \log x \geq \log x_0$$

$$\therefore \quad r \log (1/2 + \delta) + \log \log x \geq \log \log x_0 > 0$$

* $a(x_0)$ is a function of x_0

$$\therefore \qquad r < \frac{\log \log x}{\log \dfrac{2}{1+2\delta}}$$

Let $b = \max. R(m)$, $(m = 1, \ldots\ldots, x_0)$

Then

$$R(x) \leq r + 1 + b < \frac{\log \log x}{\log \dfrac{2}{1+2\delta}} + 1 + b$$

$$< 2 \log \log x, \text{ when } x > a \ (x_0)$$

4. Regarding the class of numbers for which R (x) is a maximum, I am not able to get anything except the following almost trivial results.

Obviously when R (x) is maximum as a function of x, then it is for numbers for which R (x) is greater than that for any lower number. Let us call such numbers L. Let $t_1, t_2, t_3, \ldots\ldots$ be the L's in order from the beginning. Then, it is easily seen that

(1) $t_r = p(t_r) + t_{r-1}$

(2) $R(t_r) = r$

(3) The L's are alternately odd and even.

(4) two consecutive L's are relative primes.

For, $$t_r = p(t_r) + t_{r-1}$$

and $$p(t_r) > t_{r-1}$$

$$\therefore \quad \left\{p(t_r), t_{r-1}\right\} = 1$$

$$\therefore \quad (t_r, t_{r-1}) = 1$$

(5) The Ratio of two consecutive L's tends to ∞

Proof. Since $p(t_r) = t_r - t_{r-1}$ there should be no prime between t_r and $t_r - t_{r-1}$. But when t_r is large, there is at least one prime between t_r and $t_r\left\{1 - \frac{1}{\log^s t_r}\right\}$

Therefore, we should have

$$p(t_r) \geq t_r\left\{1 - \frac{1}{\log^s t_r}\right\}$$

$$\therefore\ t_r - t_{r-1} \geq t_r\left\{1 - \frac{1}{\log^s t_r}\right\}$$

$\therefore\ \dfrac{t_r}{t_{r-1}} \geq \log^s t_r$; for every positive s, when t_r is large. On the Riemann hypothesis, we get

$$\frac{tr}{t_{r-1}} > t_r^{\frac{1}{2}-\delta}$$

$$t_r > t_{r-1}^{2-2\delta}$$

Hence, the L's increase with great rapidity.

So, it is very difficult to calculate even the first few L's. The first four L's are

$$1 = 1$$
$$4 = 3 + 1$$
$$27 = 23 + 3 + 1$$
$$1354 = 1327 + 23 + 3 + 1.$$

The fifth L may be calculated; but I do not think that it will be possible to calculate the sixth L.

5. We have proved the result

$$R(x) = o(\log x)$$

assuming all the known results about π (x). But by elementary method also, we can prove something about R (x). Now, by Bertrand's postulate, there is at least one prime between n and $\frac{n}{2}$ which is an elementary result. So

$$p(n_1) \geq \frac{n_1}{2}$$

So, since $n = n_1 = n_2 + p(n_1)$

$$n_2 \leq \frac{n}{2}$$

Similarly, $n_3 \leq \frac{n_2}{2} \leq \frac{n}{2^2}$

. . . .

$$n_r \leq \frac{n_{r-1}}{2} \leq \frac{n}{2^{r-1}}$$

Now let n_r be a prime or 1. Then $n_{r+1} = 0$ and $n_r \geq 1$.

So $2^{r-1} \leq n$

$$\therefore \qquad r \leq \frac{\log n}{\log 2} + 1 < 2 \log n$$

Thus, we have proved the following results

(1) $R(x) < 2 \log x$ (Elementary)

(2) $R(x) = o(\log x)$ (deep)

(3) $R(x) < 2 \log \log x$ (On Riemann hypothesis).

Further, we have shown by elementary methods that max. R(x) tends to ∞. About the lower limit for the maximum order of R(x), I am not able to do anything further than what I prove by elementary methods. In this direction one can improve the results if one can sharpen the results about the following function.

Let P (n) be the smallest prime P such $Q - P > n$, where Q is the prime immediately succeeding P. Then, the following results can be proved about P (n): —

(1) $2n < P(n) < e^{2n}$ (elementary)

(2) $n (\log n)^t < P(n) < e^{(1+\delta)n}$ for every positive t and δ when n is large. (deep)

(3) $P(n) > n^{2-\delta}$ for every positive δ (on assuming Riemann hypothesis).

If the upper limit for P (n) can be reduced, then, one can improve the result about the lower limit for the maximum order of R (x). If p and q are two consecutive primes, then $q - p > p^{1/2 - \delta}$ for infinity of p's. Hence, it is not unlikely that $P(n) < n^{2+\delta}$, and consequently $R(x) > k \log \log x$ for infinity of x's.

On a Metrical Invariant connected with four Coplanar Points.

By

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1. We define the θ normal to a curve at any point P, as the line obtained by rotating the tangent at P, in the positive sense about P, through an angle θ. It is known that for a given value of θ four such normals may be drawn to a conic from any point in its plane. The feet of these normals form a "θ-pedal tetrad" on the conic, the properties of which as tetrads on the conic have received some attention.[1]

In this paper we study such tetrads not as points on their home conic, but as point sets in the plane. A set of four points in a plane requires 8 constants for its complete specification, while an arbitrary conic and an arbitrary point involve among themselves only 7 constants. It is therefore to be expected that when θ has been fixed, the θ-pedal tetrads are metrically specialised, while when θ is also allowed to vary they are quite general. This raises the following questions which are sought to be answered in this paper:—

(1) When θ is given (in particular when $\theta=\frac{\pi}{2}$) how is the pedal tetrad specialised?

(2) Given an arbitrary set of 4 points in a plane it is required to express the associated value of θ for which they form a θ-pedal tetrad as a metrical invariant of the set of four points.

As a set of four points in a plane may be taken as the base points of a unique pencil of conics, the answers to (1) and (2) may be sought in the specialisations of the associated pencil.

1. *Encyclopadie der Mathematischen Wissenschaften* III. C. 1, Kegelschnitte und Kegeschnittsystene pp. 33, 34. Also: Vaidyanathaswami "On the quasi-normals of a central conic," *Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society*, Vol. XVIII. Part 2. Page 281.

2. Let C be a given conic subjected to an infinitesimal similarity transformation. This may be resolved into an infinitesimal rotation through an angle ϕ about the centre of similitude O and a uniform dilatation about O in the ratio $1+\delta k : 1$. It will be seen that as a result of these operations, any point P moves so that P O is the θ normal at P where

$$\tan\theta = -\frac{\delta\phi}{\delta k}. \qquad (2.1).$$

Thus the above transformation carries the feet of the θ normals from O to the conic, into neighbouring points on the same conic. Hence

Any θ-pedal tetrad on a conic is the intersection of the conic with the one obtained from it by a general infinitesimal similarity transformation. (2·2).

In particular when θ is a right angle $\delta k = 0$ from (2·1), and the transformation reduces to a pure rotation. Remembering that any infinitesimal displacement in a plane is necessarily a rotation, we infer that

When a conic is subjected to an infinitesimal displacement, the common points form a pedal tetrad in the usual sense, i.e., for $\theta = \pi/2$. (2·3).

3. Consider a pencil of conics given by

$$M+\lambda R = (a_1 x^2 + 2h_1 xy + b_1 y^2 + \ldots\ldots) + \lambda(a_2 x^2 + 2h_2 xy + b_2 y^2 + \ldots\ldots) = 0 \qquad (3·1).$$

We may without loss of generality take R to be a rectangular hyperbola so that

$$a_2 + b_2 = 0, \qquad (3·2).$$

since in general every pencil contains a unique rectangular hyperbola. If the base points are orthocentric, so that every conic of the pencil is a rectangular hyperbola, R may be any member of the pencil.

The two parabolas in the pencil are then given by

$$C_\lambda = a_\lambda b_\lambda - h_\lambda^2 = (a_1+\lambda a_2)\ (b_1+\lambda b_2) - (h_1+\lambda h_2)^2 = C_1 + \lambda C_{12} + C_2\lambda^2 = 0.$$

If we now take M as the conic in the pencil such that the parameters of M and R separate harmonically those of the two parabolas we have

$$C_{12}=a_1\, b_2+a_2\, b_1-2\, h_1\, h_2=0 \qquad (3{\cdot}3).$$

The angle ψ between the asymptotes of the conic (3·1) is given by $\frac{1}{4}\tan^2\psi = \dfrac{h_\lambda{}^2-a_\lambda b_\lambda}{(a_\lambda+b_\lambda)^2} = -\dfrac{C_1+C_2\lambda^2}{(a_1+b_1)^2}$ by (3·2) and (3·3).

The two conics $M+\lambda\, R$ and $M-\lambda\, R$ have thus the same asymptotic angle and hence the same eccentricity. When these are identical, i.e., in the case of M and R the eccentricity will be an extremum.

Hence assuming that the base points are not orthocentric, we have :—

> In every pencil of conics there are pairs of conics with equal eccentricities. These pairs belong to an involution whose double members are the rectangular hyperbola R and the conic M whose axes are parallel[2] to the asymptotes of R. The eccentricity is a minimum in the case of M and a maximum for R. (3·4).

Since all parabolas have the same eccentricity, the two parabolas in the pencil belong to the involution and their parameters separate harmonically those of M and R.

When the base points are orthocentric all the conics have the same eccentricity $\sqrt{2}$, and any two conics of the system are similar. In particular each conic is similar to its neighbours in the pencil.

In the general case, however, if two neighbouring conics are to have the same eccentricity they must be of the form

$$M+\delta\lambda.\, R \text{ and } M-\delta\lambda.\, R \qquad \text{or} \qquad \delta\lambda\ M+R \text{ and } \delta\lambda.\, M-R$$

In order, however, that it may be possible to carry one conic into the other by a similarity transformation, the conics must not only have the same asymptotic angle, but must in both cases lie within the acute angle or obtuse angle. In the case of the conic M, the asymptotic angle is not a right angle and considerations of continuity lead to the conclu-

2. This is a geometrical interpretation of (3·3) which states that the asymptotes of R separate harmonically those of M and are therefore equally inclined to them.

sion that the two conics $M \pm \delta\lambda . R$ whose equations differ infinitesimally from each other must be either both within the acute or both within the obtuse angle. These considerations do not hold in the case of $R \pm \delta\lambda . M$; for we may have two conics one lying within the angle $\frac{\pi}{2} + \epsilon$ and another within the angle $\frac{\pi}{2} - \epsilon$ and differing infinitesimally from each other. Further investigation shows that this is indeed the case and that the conics $R \pm \delta\lambda . M$ are not similar but conjugate hyperbolas. Thus:

The only conics of the system similar to their neighbouring conics are those in the neighbourhood of M.

We may now seek to find the rotation $\delta\phi$ and the dilatation $1+\delta k : 1$ necessary to carry $M - \delta\lambda . R$ into $M + \delta\lambda . R$ so that the formula (2·1) may be applied to determine the pedal angle of the tetrad formed by the base points of the pencil.

4. Consider now the effect of an infinitesimal similarity transformation on the points at infinity on $M - \delta\lambda . R = 0$ which are given by

$$(a_1 x^2 + 2h_1 xy + b_1 y^2) - \delta\lambda (a_2 x^2 + 2h_2 xy + b_2 y^2) = 0 \quad (4·1)$$

While the dilatation component leaves them invariant, the rotation through $\delta\phi$ carries them into the points given by

$$(a_1 x^2 + 2h_1 xy + b_1 y^2) - \delta\lambda (a_2 x^2 + 2h_2 xy + b_2 y^2)$$
$$-2\,\delta\phi\,(h_1 x^2 - h_1 y^2 + \overline{b_1 - a_1}\, xy) = 0 \quad (4·2)$$

omitting terms of the second order involving $\delta\lambda . \delta\phi$. If these are to be identical with the points at infinity on $M + \delta\lambda . R = 0$ we must have

$$\frac{a_1 - \delta\lambda\, a_2 - 2h_1\,\delta\phi}{a_1 + a_2\,\delta\lambda} = \frac{h_1 - h_2\,\delta\lambda + (a_1 - b_1)\,\delta\phi}{h_1 + h_2\delta\lambda} = \frac{b_1 - b_2\delta\lambda + 2h_1\delta\phi}{b_1 + b_2\delta\lambda}$$

$$= \sqrt{\frac{(a_1 b_1 - h_1^2) - \delta\lambda\,(a_2 b_1 + a_1 b_2 - 2h_1 h_2)}{(a_1 b_1 - h_1^2) + \delta\lambda\,(a_2 b_1 + a_1 b_2 - 2h_1 h_2)}} \text{ approx.}$$

$= 1$ by (3·3).

Passing to the limit when $\delta\lambda \longrightarrow 0$ we have:

$$\frac{d\phi}{d\lambda} = -\frac{a_2}{h_1} = \frac{2h_2}{a_1 - b_1} = \frac{b_2}{h_1} = 2\sqrt{\frac{h_2^2 - a_2 b_2}{(a_1 - b_1)^2 + 4h_1^2}} = \sqrt{\frac{-4C_2}{J_1^2 - 4C_1}} \quad (4·7)$$

where

$$J_1 = a_1 + b_1 \qquad C_1 = a_1 b_1 - h_1^2$$
$$J_2 = a_2 + b_2 = 0 \qquad C_2 = a_2 b_2 - h_2^2 \quad (4·8)$$

and the square root is to have the same sign as $\frac{b_2}{h_1}$.

When all the conics are rectangular hyperbolas the above investigation still holds so long as M and R are any two conics satisfying (3·3). In this case both J_1 and J_2 vanish so that $\frac{d\phi}{d\lambda} = \sqrt{\frac{C_2}{C_1}}$

5. We have next to determine $\frac{dk}{d\lambda}$ where $1 + \delta k : 1$ is the dilatation in passing from the conic $M - \delta\lambda \,.\, R$ to the neighbouring similar conic $M + \delta\lambda \,.\, R$

The product of the squares of the semi-axes of a conic S are given by $P = \frac{\Delta^2}{C^3}$ where Δ is the discriminant, and $C = ab - h^2$.

Hence for the conic $M + \lambda R$ we have $P_\lambda = \frac{\Delta_\lambda^{\,2}}{C_\lambda^{\,3}}$

$$\therefore \qquad \frac{dP_\lambda}{P_\lambda} = \frac{2\,d\Delta_\lambda}{\Delta_\lambda} - \frac{3\,dC_\lambda}{c_\lambda} \qquad (5{\cdot}1).$$

But we have

$$\Delta_\lambda = \lambda^3 \Delta_{222} + \lambda^2 \theta_{122} + \lambda \theta_{112} + \Delta_{111}$$

where the Δ's are the discriminants and θ's the joint invariants of M and R, while

$$C_\lambda = C_1 + C_{12}\,\lambda + C_2\,\lambda^2$$

where C_1, C_2 are given by (4·8) and $C_{12} = a_1 b_2 + a_2 b_1 - 2h_1 h_2 = 0$ from (3·3).

Hence as we pass from $M - \delta\lambda \,.\, R$ to $M + \delta\lambda \,.\, R$

$$d\Delta_\lambda = 2\theta_{112} d\lambda\,; \quad d\,C_\lambda = 0$$

to the first order of small quantities, so that

$$\frac{d\,P_\lambda}{P_\lambda\,d\lambda} = 4\,\frac{\theta_{112}}{\Delta_{111}}$$

But if the dilatation be in the ratio $1 + \delta k : 1$

$$\frac{d\,P_\lambda}{P_\lambda} = \frac{P_\lambda\,(1+\delta k)^4 - P_\lambda}{P_\lambda} = 4\,\delta k$$

omitting δk^2 etc., since P_λ is of dimensions four in length.

We have therefore in the limit when $\delta\lambda \rightarrow 0$

$$\frac{dk}{d\lambda} = \frac{\theta_{112}}{\Delta_{111}} \qquad (5\cdot2).$$

6. We have now all the materials for determining the pedal angle of any tetrad of points A B C D. By (2·2) A B C D will be a pedal tetrad on that conic of the pencil which is similar to a neighbouring conic of the pencil. Using (3·5) we infer that

Any coplanar tetrad of points forms a pedal tetrad on the conic M of minimum eccentricity through them in the case of an ordinary tetrad, and on every conic of the pencil in the case of an orthocentric tetrad. The pedal angle θ is then given in both cases by

$$\tan\theta = -\frac{\Delta_{111}}{\theta_{112}}\sqrt{\frac{-4C_2}{J_1^2-4C_1}} \qquad (6\cdot1).$$

The last part follows from $\tan\theta = -\dfrac{d\phi}{dk} = -\dfrac{d\phi}{d\lambda}\Big/\dfrac{dk}{d\lambda}$ as we pass from the conic $M - d\lambda$ R to the neighbouring similar conic $M + d\lambda$. R.

In particular when $\theta_{112} = 0$, $\theta = \dfrac{\pi}{2}$ so that M is inpolar to R. In fact it is well known that the feet of the normals from a point to a conic M lie on the Appolonius hyperbola R passing through the centre and the points at infinity on the axes of M, and these points form a triangle self-polar with respect to M. We notice also that another case when $\theta = \dfrac{\pi}{2}$ is when $J_1^2 - 4C_1 = (a_1 - b_1)^2 + 4h_1^2 = 0$ which is the condition that M passes through one of the circular points. If the four points are real, so are the coefficients in M and R, so that in this case M is a circle.

The case when $\theta = 0$ i.e., the tangents at A B C D are concurrent will occur only when M is a pair of straight lines and accordingly we find Δ_{111} figuring as a factor in the numerator or (6·1). The vanishing of the other C_2, coupled with $a_2 + b_2 = 0$ will involve in the case of real tetrads $a_2 = b_2 = h_2 = 0$ so that R breaks up into the line at infinity and another straight line. This can happen only when two of the points A B C D be at infinity.

The expression in (6·1) is homogeneous and of degree zero in the coefficients of the M and R so that it will not be affected by multiplying the equation of either conic by any constant. The invariant character of (6·1) for the transformations of the orthogonal group is perceived from the fact that the conics M and R are metrically specialised members of the pencil which will be carried into the corresponding members M′ and R′ of the transformed pencil, while Δ, θ are the projective invariants, and J, C, metrical invariants of these specialised members.

7. When the tetrad A B C D is orthocentric, M and R are any two members of the pencil satisfying (3·3) and the pedal angle θ for which θ-normals to M are concurrent is given by

$$\tan\theta = -\frac{\Delta_{111}}{\theta_{112}}\sqrt{\frac{C_2}{C_1}}$$

If any member $M + \lambda R$ be taken, this together with $M + \mu R$ satisfy (3·3) if

$$\lambda\mu + \frac{C_1}{C_2} = 0 \qquad (7·1).$$

The pedal angle θ_λ for which the base points form a pedal tetrad on the conic $M + \lambda R$ is given by

$$\tan\theta_\lambda = -\frac{\Delta_{\lambda\lambda\lambda}}{\theta_{\lambda\lambda\mu}}\sqrt{\frac{C_\mu}{C_\lambda}} \qquad (7·2).$$

Let us write,

$$\Delta_{\lambda\lambda\lambda} = a_\lambda^{3}; \quad C_1 + \lambda^2 C_2 = p_\lambda^{\ 2} = q_\lambda^{\ 2} = r_\lambda^{\ 2}$$

where p, q, r are equivalent symbols for the quadratic giving the two parabolas. Then $\theta_{\lambda\lambda\mu}$ being the polar form of $\Delta_{\lambda\lambda\lambda}$ with respect to μ is represented by $3a_\lambda^{\ 2}\, a_\mu$, while the relation (7·1) between λ and μ takes the form

$$p_\lambda\, p_\mu = q_\lambda\, q_\mu = r_\lambda\, r_\mu = 0 \qquad (7·3).$$

On substituting the above value for μ we have

$$\theta_{\lambda\lambda\mu} = 3\, a_\lambda^{\ 2}\, a_\mu = 3\,(ap)\, a_\lambda^{\ 2}\, p_\lambda$$

Again, from (7·3), $p_\mu = (pq)\, q_\lambda = (pr) \cdot r_\lambda$ so that

$$p_\mu{}^2 = (pq)\,(pr)\, q_\lambda r_\lambda = \tfrac{1}{2}(pq)\, r_\lambda \left\{ (pr)\, q_\lambda + (rq)\, p_\lambda \right\}$$

on interchanging the equivalent symbols p and q.

$$= \tfrac{1}{2}\,(pq)^2\, r_\lambda{}^2 = \tfrac{1}{2}\,(qr)^2\, p_\lambda{}^2$$

Hence $\dfrac{C_\mu}{C_\lambda} = \dfrac{p_\mu{}^2}{p_\lambda{}^2} = \tfrac{1}{2}\,(qr)^2 =$ discriminant of $p_\lambda{}^2$.

Substituting these values in (7·2) we have

$$\sqrt{(pq)^2}\; a_\lambda{}^3 + 3\sqrt{2}\, \tan\theta\, (ap)\, a_\lambda{}^2\, p_\lambda = 0 \qquad (7{\cdot}4).$$

Hence, summarising

An orthocentric tetrad is a pedal tetrad for every conic through the points, for the value θ given by (7·2); while for a given value of θ there are three conics given by (7·4) for which θ-normals are concurrent. Such triads belong to a pencil determined by $a_\lambda{}^3$ giving the parameters of the line pairs, and $b_\lambda{}^3$ the jacobian of $a_\lambda{}^3$ and the quadratic $p_\lambda{}^2=0$ which gives the two parabolas in the system. The pedal angle is zero for the conics given by $a_\lambda{}^3=0$ and is a right angle for those* for which $b_\lambda{}^3=0$. For any other conic of the system the pedal angle is given by (7·4).

If the roots of $p_\lambda{}^2=0$ are p_1 and p_2, it is easy to see that the residual quadratics of p_1 and p_2 respectively in such a pencil are the polars of p_2 and p_1 with respect to $a_\lambda{}^3$. This gives an alternative mode of specifying the pencil.

*For some geometrical properties regarding the centers of such rectangular hyperbolas, reference may be made to a paper by Dr. Vaidyanathaswami; "On the feet of concurrent normals of a conic" *Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society*, Vol. XVIII page 309.

Chemical Investigation of Indian Medicinal Plants.

PART I.

Preliminary Chemical Examination of the root bark of Capparis Horrida.

By

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One of us (S. N. C.) has been contemplating a systematic Investigation of Indian Medicinal plants for the last ten years. The object of this series of researches was to isolate the active principles of the medicinal plants with a view to determine their structures as also to study their physiological and Pharmacological action from a scientific point of view. We were interested in these studies from another point of view also. Inspite of the pioneer work of Ehrlich, no far reaching generalisation has yet been discovered connecting chemical constitution of a substance with its physiological and chemotherapeutic action, this branch of medical science consisting merely of a series of empiricism hardly deserving the name of science. This is a problem which has been engaging our attention for the last few years, and we thought that by a systematic study of the chemical structure of the active principles of the various plants it may be possible to gather some material which may be of use in arriving at a generalisation of far reaching importance connecting chemical constitution and physiological and chemotherapeutic action.

The present paper deals with the preliminary investigation of the root bark of Capparis-horrida, a climbing shrub which thrives well in the Gangetic Valley and South India. The root bark is variously used by indigenous doctors as a cure for cholera, and also as sedative, stomachic and anti-idriotic. The root bark is supposed to be useful in relieving some of the symptoms of gastric irritation, as vomitting and pain, and in improving appetite. It has also been found useful in a few cases of excessive perspiration which it checked to a great extent.

A reference to the literature showed that no work had been done on the chemical constituents of this plant. A more or less complete and systematic analysis of the root bark has now been made. This investigation shows that the active principle of the root bark is an alkaloid with some remarkable properties.

A sample of the new alkaloid has been sent to Col. R. N. Chopra, I.M.S., of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, for the study of its physiological and Pharamcological action.

Experimental. Preliminary tests carried out in the usual manner (Compare Rosenthaler Grundzuge der Chemischen Pflanzenuntersuchung, pages 15 to 18) indicated the presence of an alkaloid and absence of glucosides and tannins.

In order to ascertain the general character of the constituents, 60 g. of the air-dried, finely-powdered, root bark were extracted with the following solvents successively in a soxhlet apparatus, and the extracts were dried at 100°: —

Petroleum ether (B.P. 35-40°) extracted	..	·33%
Ethyl ether "	..	·33%
Chloroform "	..	·25%
Absolute alcohol "	..	·7%
70% alcohol "	..	1·0%
Total	..	2·61%

Petroleum Ether extract. The yellowish extract was concentrated to a small volume and then extracted with acidified water. The acid extract did not give any precipitate with any of the usual alkaloidal reagents, and it did not give any of the tests of water soluble glucoside. The concentrated petroleum ether extract was then evaporated to dryness, when a brownish residue (·2 g) was left. The residue was boiled with 90% alcohol, when a part did not dissolve. The insoluble residue was not saponifed by boiling with alcoholic potash for 4 hrs. The hot alcoholic filtrate deposited on cooling a small amount of a substance (·05 g.) which gave some of the tests of phytosterols. The final mother liquor was evaporated to dryness when a resinous substance, which did not give any of the tests of a glucoside or tannin, was obtained.

Ethyl Ether extract. This extract residue (·2 g.) was very much similar to the residue obtained from petroleum ether. It did not contain any reducing sugar, tannin, glucoside, alkaloid, or an acid. It contained a non-saponifiable substance, traces of an essential oil, a small amount of a phytosterol and some resinous substance.

Chloroform extract. A dark brown sticky residue, which did not contain any glucoside, reducing sugar, alkaloid or tannin. On boiling with 90% alcohol an insoluble residue is left, which is not saponified by

boiling with alcoholic potash. The hot filtrate deposited a very small amount of a phytosterol. On evaporating the mother liquor to dryness, a cautchoue-like substance was obtained which did not dissolve in sodium hydroxide.

Absolute Alcohol extract. On concentrating down the extract to a small volume a crystalline substance separated which did not melt even at 260°, and which was found to be a potassium salt, and not a glucoside. Ether was added to the alcoholic filtrate when a light yellow precipitate was thrown down. Part of this precipitate is soluble in dilute hydrochloric acid and gives tests for alkaloids. The part that is insoluble dissolves readily in sodium hydroxide and is reprecipitated by acids.

The ether-alcoholic solution was concentrated and lead acetate was added. There was a slight precipitation. The precipitate was soluble in boiling alcohol and on concentration gave a pale green sticky substance, soluble in sodium hydroxide. The filtrate from the precipitate gave no precipitate with basic lead acetate.

70% Alcohol extract. On concentrating down the extract to a small volume, a crystalline substance separated (·2 g.,) which was found to contain calcium. On further concentration, ·15 g. more of a substance was deposited. Both these precipitates contained traces of an alkaloid. The mother liquors from these precipitates were evaporated to dryness, the residue extracted first with water and then with dilute hydrochloric acid. The extracts contained only traces of an alkaloid and an acid. The extracted residue was insoluble in water, chloroform, ether and sodium hydroxide.

Cold distilled water extract. The extract contained some protein and alkaloid.

Cold 1% hydrochloric acid extract. The extract gave voluminous precipitate with all the usual alkaloidal reagents.

Boiling water extract of the fresh bark. 200 g. of the powdered bark were boiled with a litre of distilled water for 4 hours. The filtrate from the bark was treated with slight excess of lead acetate, when a voluminous white precipitate (A) was thrown down, which was washed with lead acetate and then with water till the washings were no longer acidic to litmus. On decomposing the precipitate with hydrogen sulphide, a very small amount of a water soluble acid, and a mucilaginous substance was obtained. The filtrate from (A) was freed from lead, by passing hydrogen sulphide and filtering, and then concentrated

to a small bulk. A crystalline substance (·7 g.) gradually separated, which did not melt even at 260°. It gave tests for calcium sulphate. On diluting the filtrate with absolute alcohol a mixture of calcium and potassium sulphates (1.6 g.) was precipitated. The filtrate from this was treated with basic lead acetate when a very slight precipitate (B) was obtained. All attempts to obtain crystalline products from the decomposition product of (B) were unsuccessful. The filtrate from (B) was freed from lead, and evaporated to dryness. The residue could not be obtained in a crystalline form, but it reduced fehling's solution and also gave tests for alkaloids. On being heated with phenylhydrazine in dilute acetic acid solution for 15 minutes on the water bath it gave an osazone which after repeated crystallisations melted at 209°. A mixed melting point with glucosazone caused no depression in the melting point.

Isolation of the alkaloid. A number of comparative experiments were first tried with a view to arrive at conditions under which the optimum yield of the alkaloid could be obtained. The following methods were tried:—(1) Extraction with neutral liquids viz. alcohol, chloroform and water; (2) Extraction with acidic solutions, viz. extraction with 1-2% hydrochloric, acetic or tartaric acid solutions in alcohol; (3) The powdered material mixed with quicklime, and dried on the water-bath and then extracted with benzene.

Very poor yields were obtained by the methods (1) and (3). A maximum yield of 10 g. of the crude periodide for 100 g. of the bark was obtained when the bark was extracted with 1·6% hydrochloric acid for 60 hours on the water-bath. On further heating for 40 hours with 1-6% hydrochloric acid, another ·5 g. of the periodide was obtained, but the product was contaminated with impurities.

Eventually the following method was adopted, which gave a purer product but a poorer yield:—

100 g. of the bark was repeatedly extracted with 1·6% hydrochloric acid solution in the cold in a percolator till no more was extracted. The extract was treated with a solution of iodine potassium iodide till no more precipitate was thrown down. The precipitate was allowed to settle, and then filtered. On drying the periodide which was obtained as a dark brown powder weighed 2 g. The periodide was suspended in hot water and decomposed by passing sulphur dioxide. A clear yellow solution was obtained from which the iodide separated as a yellow powder. The filtration from this precipitate was a very slow process. On repeated crystallisation from water, the iodide separated as a yellow powder which did not melt even at 300° C.

On dissolving the iodide in water and adding ammonia in slight excess and then boiling off the excess of ammonia, the free alkaloid is precipitated. It seems to be soluble in excess of ammonia. It was insoluble in usual organic solvents and in water. It readily dissolves in dilute acids giving voluminous precipitates with all the usual alkaloidal reagents. The crude alkaloid did not melt even at 260° C.

An acid solution of the alkaloid on treatment with picric acid gives a yellow picrate. The picrate was insoluble in water, alcohol or acetic acid, but it dissolved readily in a mixture of water and acetone or acetic acid. It comes out from this mixture as a yellow powder which decomposes at 225° C.

2 g. of the iodide was converted into the chloride by heating with excess of silver chloride in acqueous solution. Unfortunately the chloride so far could not be obtained in a crystalline state.

The study of the composition and constitution of these compounds is reserved for a future paper.

Chemical Investigation of Indian Medicinal Plants.

PART II.

Preliminary Chemical Examination of the leaves of Pithecolobium Bigeminum.

By

SATYENDRANATH CHAKRAVARTI AND KRISHNAMURTI GANAPATI

(*Annamalai University.*)

Pithecolobium Bigeminum is a large tree which is commonly met with in the forests of the outer Himalayas and in South India. The leaves of this plant is used in Ayurvedic Medicine as a cure for leprosy and also as a stimulant to promote the growth of hair. The plant has also long been used in other systems of Indian Medicine as also in European countries. (Compare Rosenthaler, Z. Oesterr. Apoth. Ver. 1906, *44*, 147.).

From the bark of this plant Greshoff isolated an amorphous alkaloid which has not yet been investigated (Ber, 1890, 23, 3541). A few years later, Rosenthaler isolated a saponin from the same plant (loc. cit.). We reserve for a future paper an account of the analytical experiments which are in progress for determining the constitution of the alkaloid present in the bark.

A reference to the literature showed that very little work had been done on the Chemical constituents of the leaves. The present investigation was undertaken to fill up this gap and also to elucidate, as far as possible, the Chemical constitution of the active principle present in the leaves.

The point of general interest which emerges from this investigation is that the leaves do not contain, even traces of an alkaloid, and that the active principle is a mixture of two acids, one of which is easily soluble in water but not readily in alcohol or ether, and the other is readily soluble in alcohol but not in water. The characterisation and the constitutions of these acids are reserved for a future paper.

Experimental. Preliminary tests carried out in the usual manner (Compare Rosenthaler Grundzuge der Chemischen Pflanzennuter suchung, pages 15 to 18) indicated the presence of acids, saponins, en-

zymes and traces of essential oil, and absence of alkaloids, glucosides and tannins.

In order to ascertain the general character of the constituents, 45 g. of the air dried ground leaves were extracted with the following solvents successively in a Soxhlet apparatus and the extracts were dried at 100° :—

Petroleum ether (B.P. 35°—40°)	extracted	..	2 %
Ethyl Ether	„	..	·7%
Chloroform	„	..	2·1%
Absolute alcohol	„	..	3·4%
70% alcohol	„	..	3·2%
	Total	..	11·4%

Petroleum Ether extract. On cooling the hot petroleum ether extract deposited a leafy grey white substance (A) (·15 gm.). It dissolves readily in hot petroleum ether, ether and alcohol. From all these solvents it separates in an amorphous form. It is insoluble in hot water and it does not dissolve either in cold hydrochloric acid or sodium carbonate. It does not give any of the tests of alkaloids, glucosides, sugars, waxes or phytosterols. It is not an acid and gives an indefinite melting point. This substance is being further investigated.

The filtrate from (A) was extracted with acidified water, dried over sodium sulphate and the solvent removed, when a green pasty mass was left. The acid extract did not give any precipitate with any of the usual alkaloidal reagents, and it did not give any of the tests of water soluble glucosides. The green pasty mass was boiled with 90% alcohol. On filtering hot a green solution was obtained, and a residue (B) (·15 g.) which turned dark and pasty on exposure to air. The residue, on being boiled for four hours with alcoholic potash, was partly saponified. The residue was found to be a mixture of fatty and unsaponifiable matter.

The green hot solution deposited on cooling a green substance (C) (·25 g.). The filtrate from (C) on being evaporated to dryness gave a resinous residue (D).

The substance (C) gave most of the tests of Phytosterols. On recrystallisation from alcohol it melted between 245-250°. The residue (D) was found to be a mixture of a resinous substance, and a solid volatile product which could be steam-distilled.

Ethyl Ether extract. The ethereal solution was extracted, after concentration, with very dilute hydrochloric acid, and then evaporated to dryness when a green pasty residue was obtained. The acid extract did not give any tests for glucosides or alkaloids. The residue was boiled with 90% alcohol when a part (A) was left undissolved (·05 gm.).

(A) was left as a dark green powder. It has a pleasant smell and is insoluble in water, sodium hydroxide and hydrochloric acid. It is also insoluble in benzene and only very sparingly soluble in chloroform or acetic acid. It does not melt even at 280° and it does not give any of the tests of Phytosterols. On boiling for 3 hours with alcoholic potash, only part of the substance was saponified.

The filtrate from (A) was evaporated to dryness when a dark resinous substance was obtained. Part of this substance was soluble in sodium carbonate solution. The part that did not dissolve in sodium carbonate solution was found to be insoluble also in caustic potash and glacial acetic acid, but was soluble in chloroform and acetone. This substance did not give any of the tests of phytosterols, lecithins, alkaloids, etc. Attempts to obtain any crystalline materials from this were unsuccessful.

The part that was soluble in sodium carbonate was re-precipitated on acidification and was found to be an acid.

Chloroform extract. A dark green residue was obtained. A very small part of it was soluble in sodium carbonate and this part was found to be an acid. The part that was insoluble in sodium carbonate was found to be insoluble also in cold caustic potash or hydrochloric acid. It did not give any tests for tannins, alkaloids or phytosterols. It was found to contain some colouring matter, some resinous substance, and an indifferent substance, m.p. 132-35.

Absolute Alcohol extract. Nothing separated on cooling the extract or on concentrating it down to a small volume, indicating the absence of salts, saponins, glucosides, etc. To a little of the concentrated extract, ether was added when a small amount of a substance, which was neither an alkaloid nor a glucoside, was precipitated. The ether-alcoholic solution was evaporated to dryness. The residue does not give the tests of an alkaloid or a glucoside, but was found to contain an acid. On evaporating the original alcoholic extract to dryness, a green residue was obtained. The residue was extracted with sodium carbonate solution. On acidifying the sodium carbonate extract, a precipitate was obtained, indicating the presence of an acid. This substance is sparingly soluble in water. On attempting to crystallise it

from alcohol with the aid of animal charcoal, an amorphous grey powder was obtained which decomposes at 272°.

The part of the residue that was insoluble in sodium carbonate, could not be so far obtained in a crystalline form.

70% Alcohol extract. A brown residue having properties similar to that of the absolute alcoholic extract.

Cold distilled water extract. During the extraction there was much frothing indicating the presence of saponins. The extract did not contain any alkaloid, glucoside bitter or phenolic substances. On a little of the extract being treated with absolute alcohol, a very slight precipitate was obtained. The rest of the extract was then treated with lead acetate solution, when a bulky dark precipitate (A) was obtained. The precipitate was filtered, washed successively with lead acetate solution, acetic acid and then water, suspended in water and decomposed by passing hydrogen sulphide. The filtrate from lead sulphide precipitate was concentrated, after animal charcoaling, to a small volume, when a brown, more or less crystalline substance separated. This substance was soluble in sodium carbonate solution, but did not dissolve readily in alcohol, benzene or ether. It was readily soluble in water, contained nitrogen, and did not melt even at 280°. It may be an amino acid.

The filtrate from (A) was freed from excess of lead acetate by passing hydrogen sulphide through the solution, when lead was precipitated as sulphide. The filtrate was concentrated to a small bulk and a solution of basic lead acetate was added. Only a slight turbidity appeared.

Extract with boiling water. The extract was more or less similar to the previous extract. It contained in addition a larger amount of gummy substances. It did not contain any alkaloid, glucoside or tannins.

Cold 1% hydrochloric acid extract. The extract did not contain any alkaloid. The extract contained calcium and traces of magnesium in the form of salts.

Isolation of the acids. Preliminary experiments. Water soluble acid. 500 gms. of the finely powdered material was heated on the steam-bath with 2 litres of water for six hours and filtered hot. The extraction was repeated three or four times. A slight excess of lead acetate solution was added to the combined extract when most of the acid was precipitated as a lead salt. The lead salt was filtered off next day, washed with lead acetate, acetic acid and finally with water till free from acetic acid. The precipitate (4 gm.) was finely pow-

dered, suspended in water and decomposed by means of hydrogen sulphide. The filtrate from lead sulphide was concentrated in vacuo and finally evaporated to dryness. The residue (·5 gm.) was very readily soluble in water and only sparingly soluble in absolute alcohol, or glacial acetic acid. Attempts to obtain it in a crystalline form from any of the solvents have so far been unsuccessful. The substance is unsaturated, turns black on exposure and readily decolourises permanganate. It contains nitrogen.

Experiments to purify it, though the purification of its ester or barium or silver salts, are in progress. It is also proposed to study the bromination and reduction product obtained from it.

From the filtrate from the lead salt, excess of lead was removed by passing hydrogen sulphide. The filtrate was concentrated to a small volume when calcium sulphate separated. On still further concentrating the mother liquor and allowing to cool a small amount of a mixture of calcium and magnesium salts was obtained. The last mother liquor was evaporated to dryness when a residue was obtained which gave some of the tests of carbohydrates, but which did not reduce fehling solution. In another experiment attempts to obtain crystalline products through the addition of alcohol or basic lead acetate to the concentrated mother liquors were unsuccessful. The last residue did not form either a phenyl-hydrazone or an osazone.

Isolation of the second acid. 500 gms. of the above material which had been completely extracted by means of water was dried on the steam-bath and then boiled for six hours on the water-bath with 2 litres of alcohol. Alcohol was filtered hot and the leaves were repeatedly extracted with alcohol till the residue was completely exhausted. The combined extracts were concentrated to a small volume and allowed to remain overnight. Next morning nothing separated. The solution was therefore evaporated to dryness. The residue (5·5 gm.) was shaken up with sodium carbonate solution and the latter solution acidified. On crystallising the precipitated acid from alcohol with the aid of animal charcoal, a substance was obtained which begins to decompose at 272°. The acid is unstable and readily decomposes into a dark product. It at once decolourises permanganate.

This acid differs markedly in its properties from the one previously obtained, being much more readily soluble in alcohol, acetone, acetic acid and chloroform, and much less in water.

Experiments to prepare large quantities of the acid by direct extraction of the leaves with dilute sodium carbonate solution, are in progress.

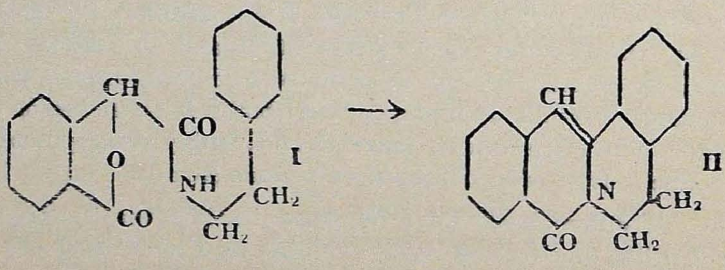
An attempted synthesis of Oxy-protoberberine and a synthesis of 3-Methoxy-oxy-protoberberine

By

SATYENDRANATH CHAKRAVARTI AND A. P. MADHAVAN NAIR

(*Annamalai University.*)

An unsuccessful attempt to synthesise Oxy-protoberberine and tetrahydro-protoberberine, the parent substance of the Berberine and Palmatine group of alkaloids, for which the name "Berbin" has recently been suggested by Walter Awe (Arch. Pharm. 1932, 270, 161), was first made by Haworth, Perkin and Pink (J. C. S. 1925, 127, 1711). These compounds were first synthesised by one of us in 1927 (J. C. S. 1927, 2275). The melting point of tetrahydro-protoberberine was found to be 85°, and numerous derivatives of this compound were prepared. In the same year Kitasato prepared a compound having the melting point 254-260°, which he called tetrahydro-protoberberine (Kitasato, Acta Phytochimica 1927, 3, 175-258; Chem. Zentral 1927, 11, 1965). In view of this discrepancy, we sought to verify our results by synthesising tetrahydro-protoberberine by another method analogous to that employed by Perkin, Ray and Robinson for synthesising Oxy-berberine (J. C. S. 1925, 127, 740). For this purpose the acid chloride of Phthalide Carboxylic acid was condensed with β-Phenylethylamine when the amide (1) m.p. 155° was formed. Unfortunately all attempts to convert the amide (1) into oxy-protoberberine, (II) were unsuccessful, undoubtedly due to the absence of activating methoxy groups.

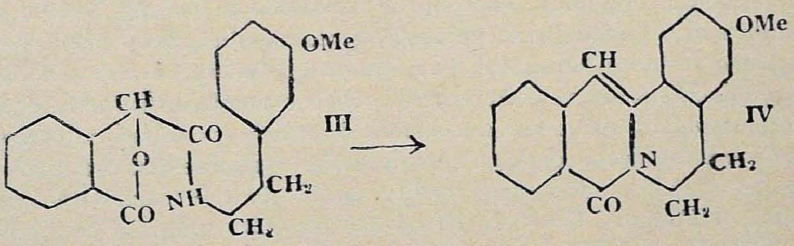


When phosphorus pentachloride was used to effect cyclisation in place of phosphorus oxychloride, a crystalline substance m.p. 153° was obtained in a poor yield. This substance was found to be quite different from oxy-protoberberine synthesised previously and its analysis did not agree with the values calculated for oxy-protoberberine.

While these experiments were in progress, Wolfgang Leithe published a paper which fully confirmed the results obtained previously by one of us. (S. N. C.) He synthesised tetrahydro-protoberberine anew by a slight modification of our previous method and found its melting point to be 85° C. (Ber., 1930, 2343). In view of this work, and the fact that Kitasato withdrew his statement in a private communication to one of us, further work on this subject was discontinued.

Incidentally, 3-Methoxy-oxy-protoberberine (IV) was synthesised —a synthesis which is of interest from the point of view of the determination of ease of formation of alkaloids of beberine-palmatine type containing no pyrocatechol nuclei (Compare Chakravarti, Haworth and Perkin, J. C. S. 1927, 2267, 2275; Chakravarti and Perkin, J. C. S. 1925, 196.).

The acid chloride of Phthalide Carboxylic acid condensed readily in benzene solution with β-m-Methoxy-phenylethylamine yielding phthalide Carboxy- β-m-Methoxy-phenylethylamide (III) m.p. 105°. When this was heated with phosphorus oxy-chloride and the product decomposed with ice, a basic substance separated (on basification of the aqueous solution), which, on reduction with Zinc dust and acetic acid, was converted into a pale yellow substance, m.p. 143°, having all the properties of a compound of the Oxy-berberine type, and this is doubtless 3-Methoxy-oxy-protoberberine (IV).



The point of general interest which emerges from this synthesis is that the synthetical experiments described proceed as readily when only one methoxy group is present in the meta position to ethylamine group, as they do in the case of the corresponding syntheses in the berberine group. The ease of formation in this case is doubtless due to the presence of an activating para methoxy group.

Experimental. *Phthalide-Carboxy β phenylethylamide* (1). Phthalide carboxylic acid (10 g.) prepared by the reduction of phthalonic acid which in its turn was prepared by the oxidation of napthalene (Compare Ullmann and Uzbachian Ber, 1903, 36, 1805, and Graebe

and Trumpy Ber., 1898, 31, 373), was thoroughly mixed with the equivalent amount of phosphorus pentachloride and heated on the steam-bath for three hours. Phosphorus-Oxychloride formed was then completely removed by distillation in vacuo, and the residue dissolved in dry benzene and added gradually to a dry benzene solution of β phenylethylamine (prepared from 9 g. of the hydrochloride). After remaining overnight, the mixture was heated on the steam-bath for half an hour, cooled, and washed successively with sodium carbonate solution and dilute hydrochloric acid, and dried over sodium sulphate. On distilling off most of the benzene, the amide separated as a white powder (yield almost quantitative). On repeated recrystallisation from ethyl alcohol it melted at 155° (Found: C=72·8; H=5·3; $C_{17}H_{15}O_3N$ requires C=72·6; H=5·3).

An attempted synthesis of Oxy-protoberberine (II). An attempt was made to convert phthalide-Carboxy-β phenylethylamide (1) into Oxy-protoberberine, by treating the amide with phosphorus Oxychloride and then treating the basic substance thus formed with Zinc dust and glacial acetic acid exactly under conditions described by Perkin, Ray and Robinson for converting the Piperonylethylamide of meconine Carboxylic acid into oxy-berberine (loc. cit. page 742; compare also Chakravarti and Perkin J. C. S. 1929, 200). The final product obtained was a brown resinous substance which could not be obtained in a crystalline form, and which could not be further examined owing to the very poor yield. Phosphorus pentoxide in boiling Xylene solution was then tried as the cyclising agent. Again a very poor yield of the same resinous substance was obtained. When, however, phosphorus pentachloride was used as the cyclising agent, a distinctly crystalline pale yellow substance was obtained, which was repeatedly crystallised from methyl alcohol. The substance crystallises in beautiful needles, m.p. 153°, and is very readily soluble in the usual Organic solvents. (Found: C=72·2; H=4·45; N=4·3. $C_{17}H_{13}ON$ requires C=82·6; H=5·3; N=5·7%. We are indebted for this micro-analysis to Dr. Ing. A. Schoeller of Berlin).

The substance thus formed differs markedly in its properties from Oxy-protoberberine synthesised by one of us (J. C. S. 1927, 2280), and it could not be further investigated owing to the small amount of the substance at our disposal.

Phthalide-Carboxy-β m-Methoxy-phenylethylamide (III). β m-Methoxy-phenylethylamine was prepared by a slight modification of the method previously described by one of us (Chakravarti, Haworth and Perkin, J. C. S. 1927, 2269), m-hydroxybenzaldehyde being methy-

lated in the following manner in more than 90% yield :—50 g. of m-hydroxybenzaldehyde dissolved in 200 c.c. of 10% sodium hydroxide solution, is treated gradually with constant shakings with 55 c.c. of dimethyl sulphate. When all the dimethyl sulphate has been added, the mixture is further shaken for a few minutes and then warmed on the water-bath for an hour. M-methoxy benzaldehyde formed is then separated in the usual manner. M-methoxy-phenylethylamine was then condensed with the acid-chloride of phthalide—Carboxylic acid exactly under the conditions described above for the amide (I). Phthalide-carboxy-β m-methoxy-phenylethylamide was thus obtained in almost quantitative yield. It crystallises in colourless plates m.p. 105°. (Found: C=69·6; H=5·6; $C_{18}H_{17}O_4N$ requires C=69·4; H=5·5).

3-Methoxy-oxy-protoberberine (IV). The amide (III) (12 g.) was mixed with freshly distilled phosphorus oxychloride (120 c.c.), and the mixture heated for six hours on the water bath. A copious evolution of hydrogen chloride was observed, the liquid gradually undergoing a change in colour through yellow to dark red. The mixture was decomposed by means of cold water and the liquid filtered, leaving a dark resinous residue. The yellow filtrate was then basified when an orange red precipitate was obtained. This substance was collected, well washed with water, dried in the air, and boiled with Zinc dust (25 g.) and glacial acetic acid (135 c.c.) for five minutes. Then another 25 gms. of Zinc dust was added and the whole mixture further boiled for half an hour. The cooled solution was diluted with a large amount of ethyl-acetate, filtered and washed several times with dilute hydrochloric acid, then with aqueous sodium hydroxide and finally with water. The solution was dried over potassium carbonate and the solvent removed by distillation. A yellow crystalline residue was left behind, which was repeatedly crystallised from alcohol. The substance (2·5 g.) was then obtained as beautiful needles m.p. 143°. (Found: C=78·3; H=5·5. $C_{18}H_{15}O_2N$ requires C=78·0%; H=5·4%).

We wish to thank Dr. B. B. Dey of the Presidency College, Madras, for having kindly permitted the analyses required during this investigation to be carried out in his laboratory.

A new synthesis of 3 : 10 dimethoxy-tetrahydro-protoberberine

By

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A. Venkatasubban

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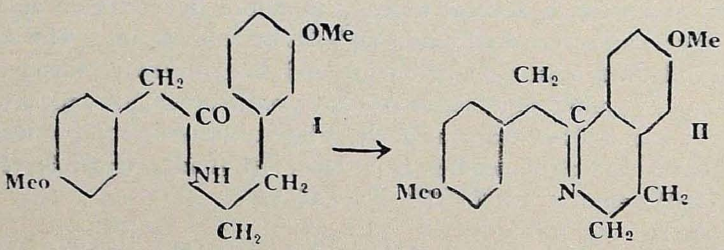
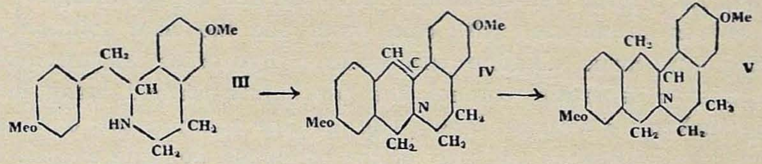
3 : 10 dimethoxy-tetrahydro-protoberberine (V), which had previously been prepared by one of us (Chakravarti and Perkin, J. C. S. 1929, 196) has now been synthesised by a method similar to that used for the synthesis of 3 : 11 dimethoxy-tetrahydro-protoberberine (Chakravarti, Haworth and Perkin J. C. S. 1927, 2265). m-methoxy-β phenylethylamine, prepared by a slight modification of the method previously described, (J. C. S. 2269) was condensed with p-methoxy-phenylacetic acid (prepared by a modification of the method of Mauthner, Annaler 1909, *370* 374, Wakeman and Dakin, J. Biol. Chem., 1911, *9*, 150; and Cain, Simonson, Smith J. C. S. 1913, *103*, 1036) and p-methoxy-phenylaceto-β-m-Methoxy-phenylethylamide (1) m. p. 81°, was converted in a yield of more than 80% into 6 methoxy-1 (4′ methoxy-benzyl) 3 : 4 dihydro-isoquinoline (11). The base readily forms a hydrochloride and a picrate and oxidises rapidly on exposure to air and



is readily reduced by zinc and sulphuric acid to 6-methoxy-1-(4′methoxybenzyl)-1:2:3:4 tetrahydro-isoquinoline (III) a base yielding a crystalline sulphate and picrate. Attempts to convert (III) into 3:10 dimethoxy-tetrahydroberberine by means of formaldehyde were unsuccessful, invariably gummy products being obtained. It was ultimately found that treatment of the N-formyl derivative of (III) with phosphorus oxy-chloride gave 3:10 dimethoxy-dihydroprotoberberine (IV) in 20% yield. The substitution of phosphorus pentoxide for the oxychloride did not effect any improvement in the yield. The base (IV) was not isolated as such, except in a preliminary experiment, but

directly reduced by zinc dust and hydrochloric acid to 3 : 10 dimethoxytetrahydroprotoberberine (V), m.p. 139°. A mixed melting point with a specimen synthesised by the previous method (loc. cit. J. C. S. 1929, 201) caused no depression.



The interesting point which arises from this investigation is that whilst the first cyclisation that is to say the conversion of (I) into (II) takes place readily, the second cyclisation i.e., the conversion of (III) into (IV) takes place with much less readiness. This is undoubtedly due to the presence of a para activating methoxy group in (I), and the absence of such a group in (III).

Experimental. *p-methoxy phenylaceto-m-methoxy-phenylethylamide (I).* β m-methoxy-phenylethylamine was prepared by a slight modification of our previous method (loc. cit.) the modification consisting in methylating m-hydroxy-benzaldehyde by shaking it with slight excess of dimethyl-sulphate in alkaline solution and then heating the product for one hour on the water-bath. Thus the use of methyl alcohol was obviated and a 90% yield of m-methoxy-benzaldehyde was obtained.

In preparing para-methoxy-phenyl-acetic acid the following modification was used :—

The azlactone obtained by the condensation of anisaldehyde and hippuric acid was hydrolysed by means of 10% sodium hydroxide solution, and the alkaline solution was then saturated with sulphur dioxide, the benzoic acid collected, and the filtrate acidified and boiled. p-methoxy-phenyl-pyruvic acid, which gradually separated, was collected and crystallised from glacial acetic acid. This acid m.p.192° was oxidized in cold alkaline solution with hydrogen peroxide. On acidifying the solution, p-methoxy. phenylacetic acid, m.p. 86°, separated in beautiful plates and in an excellent yield.

Equivalent quantities of β m-methoxy-phenylethylamine and p-methoxy-phenylacetic acid were heated at 180° for 2 hours. On crystallising the product from benzene through the aid of animal charcoal, p-methoxy-phenylaceto- β m-methoxy-phenylethylamide (I) m.p.

81°, was obtained as colourless plates in a good yield. (Found C=72·0; H=7·2. $C_{18}H_{21}O_3N$ requires C=72·2; H=7·0%).

6-*Methoxy*-1 (4'-*methoxybenzyl*) 3:4 *dihydro-isoquinoline* (*II*). The amide just described (10g.) was heated with phosphorus oxychloride (25 c.c.) for 2 hours on the steam bath and then kept overnight. The mixture was decomposed with cold water and the clear solution thus obtained was made alkaline with sodium hydroxide in presence of benzene in a separating funnel, the precipitate formed being immediately shaken up with benzene. The alkaline solution was once more extracted with benzene and part of the combined benzene extract (A) was dried over potassium carbonate, and concentrated to a small bulk when a colourless oil was obtained.

A crystalline hydrochloride and a crystalline picrate m.p. 146° (Found C=56·3; H=4·6; $C_{24}H_{22}O_9N_4$ requires C=56·5; H=4·32) was prepared from the above base by usual methods.

6-*Methoxy* 1(4'-*methoxy-benzyl*) 1:2:3:4 *tetrahydro-iso-quinoline* (III). This was obtained by extracting the benzene extract (A) with dilute sulphuric acid, and reducing the acid solution with zinc dust. On cooling, the crystalline sulphate was deposited in the form of plates. The sulphate was dissolved in water and decomposed by means of ammonia, and the tetrahydrobase extracted with chloroform, dried over potassium carbonate and the solvent removed, leaving the base as an oil. The hydrochloride, obtained by dissolving the oil in hot dilute hydrochloric acid, and cooling, separated as a crystalline powder m.p. 196° (Found: C: 67·4; H=7·1; $C_{18}H_{22}O_2$ Ncl requires C=67·6; H=6.9). The picrate prepared in alcoholic solution is sparingly soluble in cold alcohol and separates from this solvent as a crystalline powder m.p. 192° (decomp)

3:10 *Dimethoxy-tetrahydro-protoberberine.* (*V*). This base could not be obtained by treating the foregoing base with formaldehyde in the usual manner. This base was obtained in a 20% yield by the following method. The base (III) was heated with equivalent amount of anhydrous formic acid in an oil-bath at 200-210° until effervescence had ceased (3 hours.) The product was dissolved in toluene and boiled with phosphorus oxy-chloride for 1½ hours. After remaining overnight light petroleum was added and the clear liquid decanted from the dark coloured gum, the latter extracted with dilute hydrochloric acid (charcoal), and the solution of dihydroprotoberberine reduced by heating with excess of zinc dust for 2 hours, during which the yellow solution became colourless. The hot liquid was filtered, the filtrate decompos-

ed with ammonia, the base extracted with chloroform, dried over potassium carbonate, the chloroform removed, and the residue crystallised from methyl alcohol. On recrystallisation from methyl alcohol with the aid of animal charcoal, the substance was obtained in beautiful prisms, m.p. 139° (Found: C=77·1; H=7·3 $C_{19}H_{21}O_2N$ requires C: 77·3; H: 7·1%).

In a preliminary experiment, an attempt was made first to get 3:10 dimethoxy-dihydro-protoberberine (IV) in a crystalline state and then to reduce it to (V). It was found, however, that 3:10 dimethoxy-dihydroprotoberberine (IV), crystallised much less readily than 3:10 dimethoxy-tetra-hydro-protoberberine (V).

The Physiological Anatomy of Ulex europaeus (Linn.)

BY

T. S. RAGHAVAN

(Annamalai University.)

Ulex europaeus (Linn.) is a hardy perennial shrub which grows on the higher ranges of the Nilgiri hills. On account of its extreme spinescence it is sometimes used as a hedge plant. All the organs of the shoot in this plant are modified into thorns. The leaves are spinescent; the primary branches borne in their axils are spinescent and the secondary branches springing from these are also in the form of thorns. This spinescence, according to Coulter[1] is induced by intense light and desiccation. All the parts, however, are green and it is, therefore, evident that in the absence of typical foliage leaves their work is carried on by these organs. Ootacamund, which is the highest hill of the Nilgiri range and in which this plant is of common occurrence, is more than eight thousand feet above the mean sea level. This corresponds very nearly to Schimper's[5] Alpine region. In this region various climatic factors combine in one to make the vegetation markedly xerophytic. An investigation was undertaken into the anatomy of Ulex to find out how far the structure was or could be correlated to the external factors and whether it could anatomically be proved that it possessed xerophilous characters, i.e., anatomical features which tend to minimise transpiration. The material was collected in May 1931 and fixed in 4% Formaldehyde. On account of the hardness of the thorns only hand sections were taken and cleared in Lactic Acid.[6]

The Leaf

It is a small spinescent structure about 5 mm in length, slightly convex on its lower side and flat on the upper. Three veins traverse it parallel to one another of which the central one is the largest, while the other two, one on either side of it and running along the margin of the leaf are smaller. A transverse section of the leaf (Fig. 1) shows a thick coating of cuticle over the epidermis. The epidermal cells

according to Solereder[7] have their inner membranes mucilaginous. The number of stomata on the upper surface is about 125 per square millimeter while on the lower it is 238. The number of epidermal cells for the same area is 475. The size of the cells, including the stomata are therefore comparatively small with a corresponding increase in the number of stomata. Each stoma (fig. 3) consists of two guard cells almost in a level with the rest of the epidermal cells; but the cuticle over the stoma forms a papillate protrusion (Fig. 3 p.p.). Below the epidermis are the palisade cells forming a compact tissue and arranged perpendicular to the surface of the leaf. The average length of the

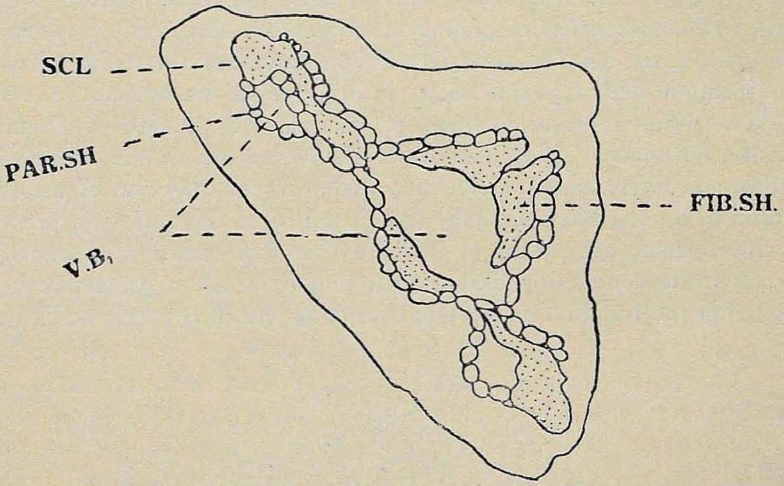


Fig. 1.

palisade cell is 18 μ. and the breadth 5 μ. The mean thickness of the leaf is ·24 mm. of which the palisade parenchyma occupies ·14 mm. or more than half the thickness of the leaf. It is noteworthy that the mesophyll is not differentiated into the spongy parenchyma and the number of intercellular spaces is very limited. In the centre of the leaf is a vascular strand flanked on either side by two smaller ones (Fig. 1 v.b.) which consist mainly of vessels. The central vascular bundle is protected by a V-shaped fibrous sheath towards the lower surface of the leaf. It does not however attain such a size on the upper surface and this is probably due to the fact that the xylem elements which are towards the upper surface being themselves thick walled do not need as much mechanical support as the thin walled phloem elements on the under surface. The combined effect of these two sheaths is that of an I girder which makes the leaf free from dangers of flexibility. The other two corners of the leaf are also pro-

vided with irregular bands of sclerenchyma cells (Fig. 1 Scl.) which take their origin in the hypodermal region and extend very nearly to the sides of the central vascular bundle. These two bands of sclerenchyma include in their angles two small mestome bundles one each (Fig. 1 v.b.). These sclerenchymatous bands running along the margin of the leaf are probably a means to make the leaf resist shearing stresses to which plants of the Alpine region are subjected to on account of the prevalent strong and drying winds. The combined effect of all these strips of mechanical elements is that of a compound girder. Between the palisade parenchyma and the conducting tissue, i.e., the vascular region, there is a sheath of ordinary parenchymatous cells which envelops the entire circle of veins and is in close contact with them (Fig. 1 Par. sh). This corresponds to Haberlandt's[2] second system of construction of photosynthetic cells. This system comprises two distinct tissues, one set apart for photosynthesis and the other for translocation, and a modification of this type is the association of the palisade tissue with a common parenchymatous sheath. From its position however it looks like the protective sheath or the endodermis. While it is likely that it may have taken on the function of an endodermis in a subsidiary manner, the structure of the cells, the presence of chloroplasts, etc., seem to indicate that this sheath is primarily a carbohydrate conducting tissue. But that it is also a protective layer, i.e., doing the function of the endodermis is shown by their walls being

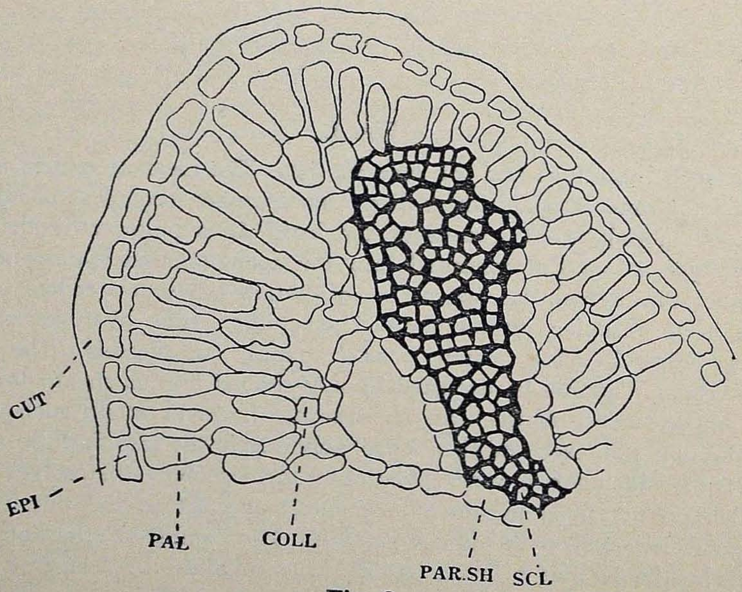


Fig. 2.

slightly thinckened due to lignification. Such sheaths have been reported to occur in the leaves of certain grasses which do not possess a typical endodermis.[2] At the tips of a group of palisade cells are collecting cells (Fig. 2 Coll), which are in immediate contact with the parenchyma sheath and this supports the view that it is primarily a carbohydrate conducting tissue. It is likely that this may be the rudiments of the special "intermediary tissue"[2] which attains its highest development in the foliage leaf of a mesophytic dicotyledon where it takes the form of spongy parenchyma which receive the synthetic products from the collecting cells.

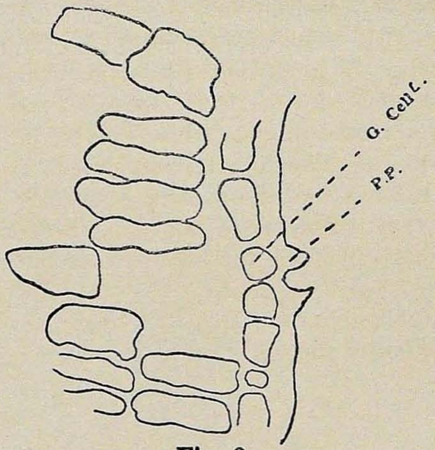


Fig. 3.

The Stem.

A very young branch of Ulex is more or less square in cross-section and below the four corners are the vascular bundles. Just above each of them is a linear column of sclerenchyma reaching up to the hypodermal region. Between the bundles rudiments of secondary ones are visible and above each such portion there is a knob like protuberance which, as the branch gets older, extends to the epidermis, and as more bundles are formed more of these sclerenchyma bands are developed. There is thus a dense net-work of vascular strands with a strong development of the mechanical tissue. The central medullary region is also occupied by thick walled cells (Fig. 5 Med). In a very young condition these have the structure of typical stone cells with very narrow lumen and walls stratified. Some of these sclerotic cells were found to contain starch grains in storage. The cortical cells (Fig. 5 Cor) are elongated and are of the same size as the palisade cells of the leaf and are full of chloroplasts. This tissue is also associated with a common parenchymatous sheath which surrounds the entire circle of vascular bundles. This is also the condition

obtaining in the leaf and the identity of both is explained by the fact that all the organs of the plant are concerned with the work of carbon assimilation. Such a sheath is known to occur in some plants with cylindric or prismatic stems where there is a fully developed photosynthetic system, like Genista bracteolata, and some species of Asparagus.[2]

As the branch gets older it becomes divided into ridges and furrows presumably to increase the surface exposed for photosynthesis (Fig. 4.). For out of a total mean thickness of the branch of 1.6 mm., the pith alone occupies about 1 mm. in diameter and with the sclerenchymatous bands above each vascular bundle, the surface of the photosynthetic system will be rendered very small if the entire branch or

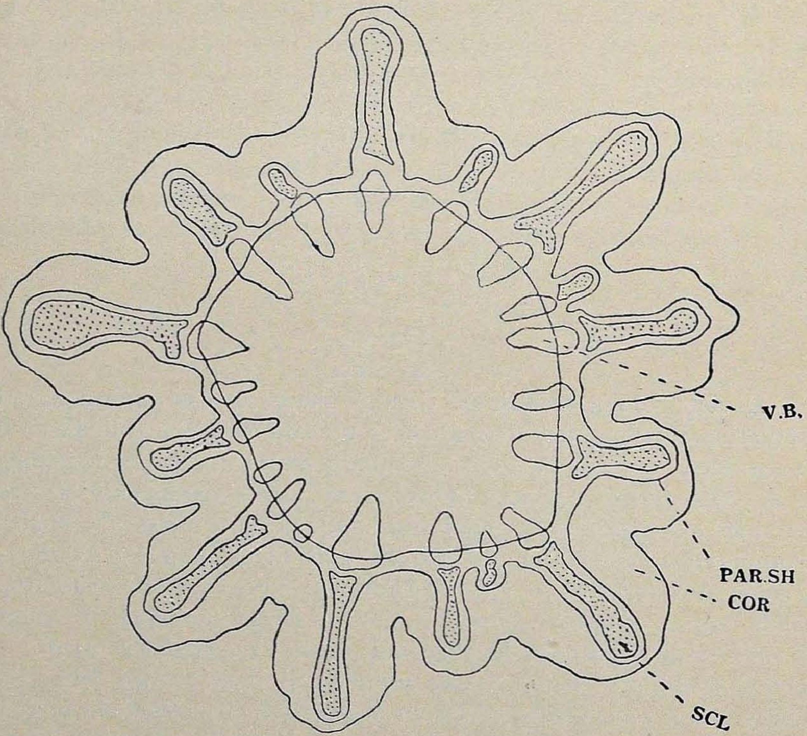


Fig. 4.

stem were circular or square in outline. With an increase in the proportion of the size of the pith and mechanical tissue region to the total extent, the ridges become greater in number and in depth, and this is what is found in older branches.

The arrangement of the mechanical strands suggests the idea that they are in the nature of hard bast and form a system of compound girders, and the great length of these is obviously to give additional strength to the ridges. The parenchyma sheath occurs here also and as in the case of the leaf is in contact with the photosynthetic cells. There is therefore little doubt in regard to the nature of the sheath which must be considered as primarily a carbohydrate conducting tissue.

Discussion.

Ulex europaeus is a plant of the Alpine region presenting a xerophytic appearance. It is generally assumed that such plants possess anatomical characters which tend to reduce transpiration to a minimum, i.e., sunken stomata, reduction of transpiring surface, reduction in the number of stomata, per unit area, thick coating of cuticle. According to Maximov[3] plants subjected to drying winds have a highly developed root system, ample water conducting tissue and small or deeply dissected leaves. Ulex possesses all these characters as it grows in a region where there are not only strong and drying winds

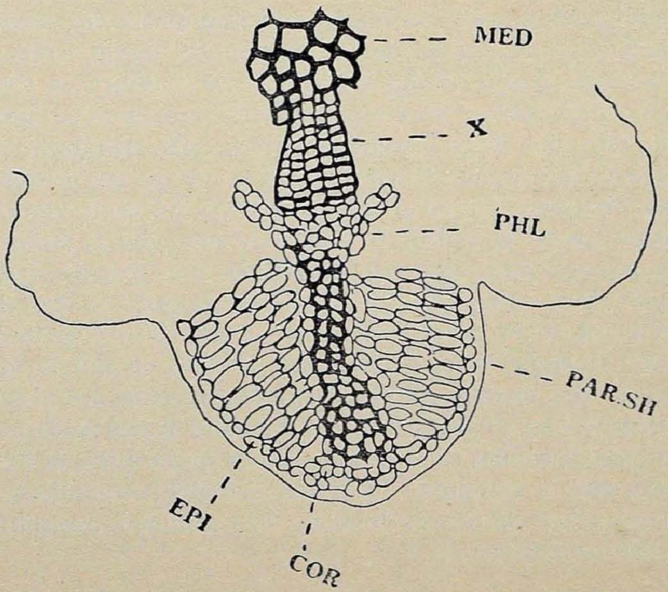


Fig. 5.

but also intense solar radiation. This intense solar radiation also induces the cells of the chlorenchyma to grow perpendicularly to the leaf surface "thereby converting potential spongy mesophyll into pali-

sade tissue." This results in an increase of assimilative capacity by an increase in the assimliative surface. In the plant under investigation the chlorenchyma is composed of a compact palisade tissue with a well developed conducting tissue. An increase in the surface exposed for assimilative work is brought about by the branches and stems dividing into ridges and furrows. But this will also bring about an increase in the area exposed for transpiration, and this is opposed to the traditional belief that xerophytes possess adaptations to reduce transpiration. Salisbury[4] has shown that high stomatal frequencies are associated with xerophytic structures and this is also confirmed by Maximov[3] according to whom intense solar radiation brings about a decrease in the size of the cells with a corresponding increase in the number of them including the stomata. In Ulex, as it has been pointed out, stomata occur both on the upper and the lower side of the leaves, 125 per sq. mm. in the former and 237 in the latter. This number is much more than in the case of an ordinary mesophyte like Thespesia populnea where there are not only no stomata on the upper surface but the stomatal frequency in the lower is much less, i.e., 208. It is therefore natural that an increase of assimilative capacity which is correlated with an increased number of stomata per unit area results in a more rapid rate of transpiration. This necessitates an abundant water supply and a well developed conducting system together with a short and easy path along which water can travel from the veins to the evaporating cells of the leaf. Such a condition is clearly seen to occur in Ulex where the mesophyll cells are more or less directly connected with the large parenchymatous cells sheathing the veins. These seem to aid in the distribution of water to the mesophyll; and the deeply dissected nature of the plant, i.e., the replacement of ordinary foliage leaves by thorns is obviously not only a means to withstand the strong winds but also to reduce the distance between the water conducting veins and the evaporating cells of the mesophyll. It is not therefore to reduce the area of transpiring surface as it is traditionally thought to be. The thick coating of cuticle however is protective in that during wilting when the stomata are closed it prevents excessive loss of water through the cells of the epidermis. From all these considerations it is more or less quite evident that though Ulex europaeus is xerophytic it is not actually xerophilous, i.e., possessing anatomical characters tending to a minimal transpiration, but it is only drought resistant.

In conclusion, I have great pleasure in acknowledging with gratitude much valuable help and advice which I received at the hands of Professor Rai Bahadur Shiv Ram Kashyap during the preparation of this paper.

Explanation of Figures.

Ulex europaeus.

All figures were drawn with the Abbe drawing apparatus and the initial magnification of each is given below.

Figure I. Transverse section of leaf to show the general arrangement of the mechanical tissues, the vascular strands and the parenchyma sheath.

Fib. Sh.—Fibrous sheath; Scl.—Sclerenchyma.
Par. Sh.—Parenchyma Sheath; V. b. Vascular bundle (x 80).

Figure II. A portion of the leaf enlarged, to show cuticle over epidermis, structure of palisade cells and collecting cells, and the parenchyma sheath in close contact with these and the Sclerenchyma band in the edge of the leaf.

Cut.—Cuticle; Epi.—Epidermis; Coll.—Collecting Cells.

Scl.—Sclerenchyma; Pal.—Palisade cells. (x 440).

Figure III. A Stoma in cross-section.

G. Cell.—Guard cells; p. p. papillate projection above the guard cells. (x 440).

Figure IV. T. S. of an adult branch, to show ridges and furrows vascular bundles and hard bast bands above each and the parenchyma sheath.

Cor.—Cortex; V. b.—Vascular bundle; Par. sh.—Parenchyma sheath; Scl. Sclerenchyma (x 70).

Figure V. One of the ridges enlarged and filled with respective tissue cells, to show the palisade like cortical cells, the sclerenchyma band above the vascular bundle, the parenchyma sheath around it and in close contact with the cortical cells, and the sclerotic medullary cells. (x 100).

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The Development of Tamilian Religious Thought

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I

Introductory.

The beginnings of Tamilian civilization may be traced far back to the ancient days when the waters of the *Pahruli* river brought fertility to the regions that extended southwards beyond *Kumari* (the present Cape Comorin.) The Pandya king *Mā Kīrti* at whose court the *Tholkāppiyam* was published flourished before the time of the great deluge[1] which submerged several ranges of hills, the river Pahruli and the fortynine countries adjoining it. The waters of the Indian Ocean roll over the spot where the proud city of *Kavadapuram*[2] stood. This city of great wealth, 'rich in gold, celestial and adorned with pearls and gems', was the second capital city of the Pandyan kingdom; the original seat of government, *Thenmadura,* was situated further south and was swallowed up by the sea at the end of the first *Oozhi.* The commentator *Nacchinārkiniyār* ascribes to king Mā Kīrti[3] a long reign of twenty-four thousand years and proceeds to say that the scholars at this old king's court were, therefore, men of matchless wisdom. If years mean anything, Mā Kīrti and his courtiers should certainly be the possessors of very ripe wisdom. Never-the-less we, who belong to a short-lived race of mortals, whose average span of life does not exceed the proverbial three score years and ten, refuse to see eye to eye with Nacchinārkiniyār when he makes this pre-diluvian monarch go through the dull routine of a king's life for such a long number of years. Although the tradition may be unacceptable for purposes of historical investigation it may not be uninteresting to seek for and discover its origin. The existence of parallel traditions in Sumerian history suggests the possibility of a common source. The king lists[4] of Larsa give the names of

1. Chilappadikaram XI, 17-22; Kali-thokai CIV 1-4; Tholkappiyam: Payiram Comm.; Karpiyal 4 Comm., and Marapiyal 94 Comm.; Purananuru VI, 2 and IX, 11.
2. Valmiki Ramayanam, Kishkindakandam, XLI, 19.
3. Tholkappiyam: Payiram Comm.

eight kings before the deluge who reigned for periods ranging between 18,600 and 43,200 years. The civilisation of the Mesopotamian valley has a special interest to students of Tamil culture, for the ancient Sumerians are said to bear most resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India.[5] The discovery of monuments[6] belonging to the First Dynasty of Ur (3100-2930 B.C.), the third after the Flood has proved to a certain extent that the records left by the scribes of ancient Sumer are not altogether legendary. The archaeological finds at Harappa and Mohenji-Daro may throw fuller light on the racial and cultural connexions of the Sumerians and the ancient Dravidians, and the antiquity of the Sumero-Dravidian civilization. The account given by Berosus[7] in the third or fourth century before Christ appears to suggest that the early settlers of Sumer arrived by sea, bringing with them a fully developed civilization. This civilization may possibly have arisen in the submerged Tamil-lands that extended to the south of Kumari.

Coming back to the court of king Mā Kīrti, we see *Tholkappiyar* seated in the midst of an assembly of learned pandits, expounding his immortal treatise. Opposite to him sits *Athankōttāsan,* a relentless critic, who at the instigation of the sage *Agattiyar* (*Sanskrit*—Agastya) points out many flaws in the book. Tholkappiyar successfully meets the points raised by *Athankōttāsan* and the book receives the approbation of the wise men of Mā Kīrti's court. From thenceforward the Tholkappiyam becomes the most authoritative treatise on Tamil language and Tamil culture. From internal evidence one is lead to believe that the book was written at a time when the Aryan culture was just beginning to influence the social and religious life of the ancient Tamilians. Nacchinārkiniyār says that the Tholkappiyam existed before the time of Vyasa[8] the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahabharata. The high standard of excellence reached by the book shows that the Tamils at this time were a highly civilized people. The sage Agattiyar came into a land which was civilized and wealthy. There are a good many legends centering round the name of this sage. He is said to have started from the Meru; passing through *Dwarapathi* (Dwarasamudram), he proceeded southwards with a band of followers until he reached Tamilakam. After his arrival, the *Pothiya*[9] hill, where he fixes up his abode becomes as famous as the Himalayas,

4, 5, 6, 7. C. L. Woolley: The Sumerians (Oxford) pages 21, 30, 187 and 189; H. R. Hall: The Ancient History of the Near East (Methuen) pages 173, 174 and 177.

8. Tholkappiyam: Payiram Comm.

9. Chilappadikaram I, 14; III, 1; VIII, 8; XV, 14; XXVII, 67.

the *Kaviri*[10] river (Cauvery) which is said to have originated from his water-pot becomes the sacred Ganges of the South; *Kanta-man*[11] the Chola king who sought his protection is saved from the murderous battleaxe of Parasurama, the protagonist of priestly power; the mighty Ravana[12] crosses the sage's path and becomes subdued (*literally* bound) not by force of arms, but by the subtler persuasive power of music. The sage is said to have spent years in the island of Ceylon practising severe austerities. Later he becomes deified and we see temples erected to him in far-off Java. This half-mythical figure stands in the hoary past as the synthesis of two great cultures, the Aryan and the Dravidian which like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna was to progress ever afterwards as an undivided single life-giving current.

The earliest existing literary records of Tamilakam are to be found among the anthologies known as the Sangam classics. Rescued from palm-leaf manuscripts and brought to light during the last three or four decades these anthologies open up an entirely new world, entering into which one meets with a god-like race of men and women, strong in physique, possessed of a keen intellect, proud, valiant, active and energetic. They appear to have given little or no thought to metaphysical speculations. Life in those remote times was strenuous and the hero who won renown by steady perseverance and indomitable courage either in the battle-field or in the more peaceful avocations of life was held up as the ideal to be followed. He whose valour was sung by bards here on earth was sure of mounting the celestial car which carried the soul in its ascent to the abode of the Immortals.[13] This earliest epoch in the civilization of the Tamils is the age in which Heroism was exalted to the position of a religion. The acquisition of fame was held up as the motive for virtuous action and the performance of strenuous deeds of valour.

The War-God *Muruga,* ruddy-complexioned, resembling the sun at dawn, was worshipped from the earliest times as the ideal of unfailing Achievement.[14] His mother the great Goddess, whom the Tamilian soldiers invoked in the field of battle was known as *Korravai,*[15] the Victorious One. Even in those early days there were philosophers, *Arivar,* who by years of mental discipline had attained the intuitive

10. Manimekhalai, Padikam 12.
11. Manimekhalai XXII, 35.
12. Tholkappiyam: Payiram Comm.
13. Purananuru, XXVII, 7-9.
14. Purananuru, LVI, 14.
15. See Tholkappiyam Purattinai Iyal and Purapporul-venba-malai.

insight into the past, the present and the future; and there were also anchorites, *Thapathar* who performed severe austerities; the Arivar and the Thapathar having the attainment of Truth as the sole aim of life worshipped Shiva, the unborn, the embodiment of Truth.[16] To those who shrank from the path of Truth, the God of Truth appeared as the God of Wrath and Destruction. *Māyon*, the blue-complexioned was the embodiment of Fame.[17] His brother, *Vāliyōn*, whose complexion was as white as a conch-shell was the personification of undisputed Strength.[18] Indra and Varuna ranked only as demi-gods. It is said that the Chola King *Thodi-thōl-chempian*[19] went as an ally of the king of the celestials and broke down the three hanging fortresses of the Asuras. In sealing a bond of friendship, the king of the celestials agreed to visit the Chola capital once a year and participate in the great festival which was held in his honour for eight and twenty days. This was the origin of the *Indravila*. Mention is made of a Pandya king *Vadimp-alamba-ninra-pandyan* who instituted a festival in honour of the Sea-god.[20] One of his descendants not only discarded this festival but also hurled a lance of defiance at the Sea-god, whereupon the enraged sea[21] swept away the Pahruli river, several ranges of hills and a goodly portion of the Pandya dominions. The undaunted Pandya marched northwards and conquered new lands to make up for the loss he had sustained. Old king Mā Kīrti[22] defied the very gods and looked upon them as mere quarrelsome children. Once when he heard that hostilities were about to break out between the Devas and the Asuras he interposed and asked them to lay down their arms and added the threat that if either party were to resort to acts of violence, his strong right arm would smite down the miscreants. The threat went home and both parties slunk away in terror from the presence of the mighty monarch. These legends help us to gain some insight into the ideals and aspirations that stirred the heart of the old Tamil warrior.

Paripādal, one of the Sangam anthologies, makes mention of the Vedic pantheon[23] of gods, such as the twelve Adityas, the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras and the twin Asvini-devas; but the worship of these deities had not yet taken root among the mass of the people. Some of

16. Paripadal, V, 33.
17. Puram LVI, 13.
18. Puram LVI, 12.
19. Manimekhalai I, 4-10.
20. Puram IX, 10.
21. Chilappadikaram XI, 17-22.
22. Iraiyanar Akapporul Sutra 35 Comm.
23. Paripadal III, 6-8; VIII, 4-8.

the kings were persuaded to perform Vedic sacrifices which they did more for the purpose of winning earthly renown than for the achieving of heavenly rewards. One of the Pandya kings *Muthu-kudumi Peru-Vazhuthi* who lived before the time of the submergence of the Pahruli river had the distinguishing epithet of *Pal-yaga-salai,* which means the possessor of many sacrificial halls and another Chola king is known as *Peru-nar-killi* who performed the *Rajasuya* sacrifice. Early Aryan thought appears to have been introduced into Tamilakam with Vedic ritualism.

The Tholkappiyam and the *Paripādal* make incidental mention of the early speculations concerning the Universe, man's place in it and the ultimate destiny of humanity. The Sankhya system of philosophy was in vogue from very early times; attention, however, does not appear to have been centred round the study of philosophy until the coming of the Jains and the Buddhists. Within a century or two after the time of their illustrious founders these great religions appear to have been introduced into Tamilakam. Somewhere about this time, there appeared on the firmament of Tamilakam a star of the first magnitude which continues to shed its lustre even to this day. *Tiruvalluvar,* whose name is known to all parts of the civilized world, and whose teachings have lent a unique grandeur to the language in which they were uttered lived in an age of great intellectual activity. The ferment introduced by the great heresies of Jainism and Buddhism made the exponents of Vaidika Dharma to revalue the traditional teachings and to formulate a course of conduct which while remaining within the established tenets of the ancient Dharma would also appeal to those who would not accept the authority of the Vedas. The Universal gospel of Tiruvalluvar met this demand and has ever since been acclaimed as the *Uttara Veda.*

When Buddhism and Jainism were first introduced they were considered merely as systems of thought and were received with open arms. The disciplined life of the monk and the self-sacrifice shown by him may have appealed to the hardy Tamil warrior. The old soldier who might have grown world-weary of the endless number of battles he was called upon to fight may have found a calm refuge in the seclusion of monasteries. Those who suffered great bereavements such as the fathers of *Kovalan* and *Kannaki* entered the monasteries to pass the last days of their lives. Princes of the royal blood such as *Ilanko-adikal* embraced a life of poverty to follow the example of the noble ascetic, the scion of the Sakya clan. Along with Buddhism and Jainism the Nyaya and Vaiseshika philosophies were introduced into Tamilakam. In those remote times the Mimamsa system does not ap-

pear to have been divided into the Purva and the Uttara Mimamsas. Lokayata (materialism), Buddhism, the Sankhya, the Nyaya, the Vaiseshika and the Mimamsa systems are known as the six systems of philosophy in the time of the *Manimekhalai*.[24] A great impetus was given to the cultivation of learning and some of the Tamilian Buddhist scholars went to China, Tibet and the island of Java carrying with them the torch of knowledge. Mention is made in the Manimekhalai of a famous Buddhist teacher, *Ara-vana-adikal*. The name may be translated into Sanskrit as Dharma-swarupa. He is the hero of the epic as much as his disciple the Bhikshuni Manimekhalai is the heroine. The fact that he was extremely aged is mentioned in several places in the poem. The force of his personality appears to have gained many adherents to the path of Buddhism. Later on Buddhism and Jainism gained ground to such an extent that they gave up the spirit of toleration which characterized them at the beginning and became aggressive religions. They aimed at the conversion of the whole of Tamilakam and attempted to do this by winning over the exclusive patronage of princes and scholars. After the destruction of *Pukar* (*Kavirippūmpattinam*), which event took place somewhere about the end of the second century, the Chola capital is transferred to Uraiyur. Madura suffers from a severe drought and famine for twelve years. The poets of the Sangam disperse and the glories of the good old days become a mere memory of the past. Several Northern dynasties that cast covetous eyes upon the wealth of Tamilakam find an opportune moment to gain a foothold in the South; an Aryan expeditionary force from the North appears to have invaded Tamilakam as early as the time of the Pandya king mentioned in the Chilappadikaram. This invasion was successfully resisted and the king is, therefore, known to history as *Arya-padai-kadantha Neduncheliyan*. Subsequently the Aryan hordes make a clean sweep of the country and in the next century we see Pallava kings well-established in Kanchi. The Chola and the Pandya dynasties suffer a temporary eclipse and the whole country passes through a period of transition, at the end of which, we find that the North had achieved a cultural conquest even more pronounced than the political conquest. The very names of the Pandya and Chola kings become Sanskritized.

It was during this time, perhaps by the end of the third century or a little earlier, that the Yoga system of philosophy began to appear in Tamilakam. Tradition says that Patanjali lived at Chidambaram and wrote his commentary on Panini's grammar, a treatise on medicine, his

24. Manimekhalai XXVII.

immortal treatise on Yoga and the Tantric rules for the worship of Nataraja. The sage is represented as a Nāga and is considered as an incarnation of Sesha Nāga. This seems to suggest that the theory and practice of Yoga were developed among the ancient Nāgas. Patanjali's name is coupled with that of Vyagrapāda another sage who is said to have arrived at Chidambaram earlier. This sage is represented with eyes in his toes. Is he to be identified with Akshapāda, the father of Nyaya Sastra? These two sages are said to be the first to witness the cosmic dance of Nataraja. The account may be symbolic of the fact that the supreme truth of the Shaiva religion can only be discerned by the combined eyes of Yoga and Nyaya. By saying so, we do not in the least deny the historicity of the two sages mentioned above. The Agamic cult of worship which probably existed as a secret cult from early times was elaborated during this period. It was certainly enriched by the influx of Tantric thought from the North. The worship of Ganesha, the elephant-headed God, whose form is that of the Pranava mantra is recognised in the Yoga system.

Yoga and Tantra engaged the attention of Siddhars and recluses. Before they could filter down to the mass of the people it was necessary that the doctrines taught by them should be actualized in the lives of one or more saintly personages. *Karaikkal Ammaiyar* or *Karaikal Pei* (the demoness of Karaikkal) as she called hereself, was blessed with a vision of the mystic dance at Tiruvalangādu, and having the gift of song she has sung in immortal verse the glory of the vision that was vouchsafed unto her, the first Alwars of Vaishnavism were probably contemporaries of Karaikal Ammaiyar. Cholan *Chenganān,* the builder of many temples also probably lived about this time. In the middle of the seventh century came *Tirugnana Sambandhar,* the child-saint of Shiyali who in his third year was blessed with the Divine vision and from thence-forward looked upon Shiva and Parvati as his parents. The saintly old *Appar,* who in his young days entered a Jain monastery and later on embraced Shaivaism is a contemporary of Sambandhar. Many sects[25] of Shaivaism which are at present known only by name were in active existence at the time of Appar. *Kapalis* who made use of human skulls as begging bowls, *Mavratis* with long matted hair and garlands of bones, *Pāsupathars* and others were seen in the streets of Kanchi and Tiruvarur. There was a whole galaxy of saints at this epoch. *Andāl,* the mystic poetess, the beloved bride of Sri Ranganatha, and her saintly father, *Periyalwar,* lived about this time. *Sundaramurti-Nayanar* the last of the Devara hymnists came about

25. Appar, Devaram—Tiruvarur, Tiruvatirai-Tirupadikam.

two centuries later. *Tirumangaimannan,* the Vaishnava saint is probably a contemporary of Sundarar. Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar have left behind beautiful songs in praise of Shiva which to this day form the holy book of the Shaivites. Alwars have left behind the Tiruvaimoli, the Tamil Veda of the Vaishnavites. *Manickavasagar,* the prince of mystics, completed the work of Shaiva revival started by the Devara hymnists.[26] Buddhism disappeared from South India; but the unseen gentle influence of the Buddha, the ideal of compassion to all living creatures and the ethical principles expounded by Him persisted and became permanently incorporated in the religious life of Tamilakam. Jainism, although it received a set-back, continued to exist in the monasteries which besides being centres of religious life were also functioning as a sort of grammar schools. The elementary treatises on Grammar, Prosody and Poetics and the metrical lexicons (*Nighantus*) placed in the hands of young students of Tamil even to this day, have come from mediaeval Jain monasteries.

The *Alwars* and the *Nayanmars* breathed new life into the people and roused them from their lethargy. The pessimistic attitude of mind fostered in the Jain and Buddhist monasteries gave place to a living faith. The glorious example of the Shaivite and Vaishnavite saints helped the votaries of these religions to lead a life of service and selfless devotion. Princes lavished their wealth in building temples and in patronising poets. The old dynasties of Tamilakam felt their own strength and refused to pay tribute to alien monarchs.[27] By successful encounters they not only freed themselves from the foreign yoke but also subdued their erstwhile rulers. Perhaps, it was during this time that the religion and culture of South India spread to far-off Champa and Cambodia. As a result of the awakening of the spirit, subsequent centuries witness an unprecedented literary revival. *Jayamkondan's Kalingattuparani* and Kamban's immortal epic reach such heights as were never before reached. Kamba-Ramayanam truly reflects the religious thought of the age in which it was written. The old cult of heroism which regarded valour as the supreme virtue and immortal fame here on earth as the equivalent of immortality hereafter, forms the basis of the lives so beautifully depicted by Kamban. The great God, who forgot His divinity on hearing the wails of a suffering world walks in the midst of kings, outcastes and recluses as a man among men sharing their joys and sorrows. In Him the Kshatriya ideal of life

26. The date of Manickavasakar is yet an open question; there are strong reasons in support of the claim put forward by some scholars fixing his date to the end of the third century.

27. Sundarar Devaram: Koil-padikam.

finds its fullest manifestation. Kamban has pictured this ideal to its utmost perfection. We find contemporary kings and princes of the royal blood vieing with one another in honouring this great poet, who stands unparalleled as the poet of manliness and Kshatriya prowess. The Devara hymns, the works of Manicka-vasagar and St. Tirumular and of various other Shaiva poets were collected and arranged into the eleven Tirumurais or holy books of Shaivaism and *Sekkilar* wrote his story of the Shaiva saints which formed the twelfth Tirumurai. Ramānuja, the great exponent of Visishtadwaita lived about this time. The sacred utterances of the Alwars were collected and arranged and formed the authoritative scriptures of the Vaishnavas.

We pass on and come to an age in which men's minds turn once more to philosophical speculations. *Meikandān* appears on the scene. The same Divine power which made the child of Shiyali (St. Tirugnana-Sambandhar) utter words of wisdom couched in the language of poesy, speaks once more through the tongue of the child of *Tiruvennainallur.* The inspired message is now given in the language of philosophy, the language of dialectics and abstract thought. The message is, however, the same. It is not mere scholastic philosophy that Meikandān expounded. The first half of *Siva-gnana-bodham* discusses the nature of bondage and freedom and the second half points out the path to the attainment of freedom. Herein we find a synthesis of pure reason and Yogic mysticism which transcends the bounds of reason. *Sakala-agama-panditha,* the Brahman philosopher, surrenders at the feet of this Vellalah boy and becomes his first disciple taking the name of *Arul-nandi-Sivacharya.* He composes the *Siva-gnana-siddhiyar* and *Irupa-irupathu* and hands over the torch of knowledge to *Marai-gnana-Sambandhar* who hands it over to *Umapathi-Sivacharya.* Umapathi is the author of no less than eight works on Saiva Siddhanta of which one, the *Sankalpa-Nirakarana,* probably the last, was written in the Saka year 1235 (that is 620 years ago).

About the same time, Malik Kafur occupied the city of Madura and the subsequent centuries witness the decline and fall of the Pandyas and the Cholas. Foreign invasions, civil wars and internecine intrigues well-nigh exhaust the energy of the hardy Tamil race. With the fall of Vijayanagar, Hindu independence becomes a memory of the past and a sort of mental stupor sets down upon the people; they begin to dream of past glories. The world in which they lived and moved and had their being, had no attraction for them; they directed their thoughts to regions situated far beyond the mortal ken. Despair seizes the heart of the people, they feel tired of life and shrink in horror from the tortures that might await them on the other side of

the grave. The old Tamil warrior, who laughed at death, never thought of inventing a hell; the Buddhists introduced a few, but the priests who came into prominence in this age of degradation ushered into existence twenty-eight crores of hells. The heroic legends of the Sangam age were almost forgotten; the Jataka Tales imported by the Buddhists were metamorphosed into new shapes; stories centering round the sage Agastya, episodes from the great epics and tales fabricated by priestly story-tellers to illustrate the inexorable working of Karma supplied the material for unusually long poetical compositions called *Sthala-puranams*. The vast majority of these compositions are but the echoes of the only consolation which priest-craft has to offer to a fallen and degraded people. They exhort the readers not to mind their present trials and tribulations but to make regular offerings to the deities, bathe in the sacred waters, observe fasts and prepare themselves to gain safe entrance to the portals of heaven, ordering out their present life in strict conformity to the dictates of their rightful spiritual guardians, the priests. Monasteries sprung up all over the country. Founded upon Buddhist and Jain models, these institutions fostered to a certain extent religious and secular learning. But their main function was the offering of elaborate worship to the deities and the departed saints who founded the Order. The presiding abbot was paid divine honours even during his life-time. Slowly and steadily these houses of religion began to accumulate large funds. Flatterers appeared in the guise of poets and received sumptuous meals and costly presents from the presiding abbots. The abbot, secure in his exalted eminence, often led a life of irresponsible ease and knew little or nothing of the miseries of the poor and the downtrodden. The poor people were daily growing poorer, and genuine scholarship was languishing for want of patronage, while a motley crowd of idle parasites consisting of priests, flatterers and the like, were fattening themselves on the food produced by the labour of the poor untouchables. The courts of the chieftains who ruled over Tamilakam in these troubled times were also infested with the same kind of parasitic vermin. *Sthala-purānas* were made to order and wherever incidents or ideas were wanting they were freely drawn from the inexaustible source of Sanskrit literature.

The monasteries were not all of one persuasion. All the various sects of Hinduism had their own *Maths*. In spite of the laxity that was spreading over these institutions they served the very useful purpose of preserving the old manuscripts and keeping inextinguished the lamp of learning that was handed down to them through the centuries. *Tiruvavaduthurai Athinam* which claims an unbroken line of succession from *Meikandān* has preserved the Saiva Siddhanta philo-

sophy and has also produced a school of grammarians well-versed both in Sanskrit and Tamil. The chronicles of this *Math* state that during the reign of Virupaksha Raja[28] (probably Virupaksha I of Vijayanagar), one *Sivaprakāsa Desikar* of the Thiruvavaduthurai Math preached the doctrines of Virashaivam in the presence of *Linganna,* one of the ministers of the king. The preaching was so good that the minister requested the monk to be the head of the Virashaiva Math at Tiruvannamalai. With the permission of his monastic superior, *Sivaprakāsar* took charge of the Tiruvannamalai Athinam. This *Sivaprakāsar* should not be confused with Thuraimangalam Sivaprakāsa Swamigal, the author of many standard works on Virashaiva philosophy. From the Dharmapura Athinam came *Kumara-guru-para Swamigal,* the gifted poet and founder of the Tiru-panandal Athinam. *Sivagra Yogigal* of Suriyanarkoil Athinam, is another great exponent of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. By the beginning of the fourteenth century Vedanta philosophy which had its votaries from very early times had extended its influence to such an extent as to be considered a serious rival to Saiva Siddhanta. This is evident from the fact that Arul-nandi-Sivacharya as well as Umapathi-Sivacharya attempt to refute at length the doctrine of Vedantic idealism. There were Vedanta Maths in various parts of the country where instruction was imparted through the medium of Tamil. *Veerai Alawandar, Sri Pattar, Tatwa Rayar* and *Kannudaiya Vallalar* are among those who have enriched Tamil literature with Vedantic thought. The Vaishnava Maths were instrumental in bringing out commentaries on the *Divya Prabandhams.*

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Father Beschi was preaching the doctrines of Roman Catholic Christianity and was creating a Christian Tamil literature. *Omar,* the Tamil poet and others of the Muhammadan faith were enriching Tamil with Islamic thought; *Pillai-perumal-aiyengar* was adding to Vaishnava Tamil literature. *Thayumānavar,* the mystic saint, sets at ease the warring schools of Vedanta and Siddhanta by pointing out the harmony that underlies the two schools of thought. About a century later, comes *Ramalinga Swamigal* whose devotional hymns are such as would melt the stoniest of hearts. *Arumuga Navalar* appears in Jaffna and with a reformer's zeal stems the tide of Christian proselytization and extensively makes use of the printing press to popularise the teachings of Shaivaism. The general awakening in Bharat-varsha rouses the South from its slumber and the message of harmony propounded by Swami Vivekananda, Hinduism's representative to the world's parliament of religions,

28. Tiruvavaduthurai Athinam—Guru-param para vilakkam page 57.

broadens the outlook of the Hindus and makes them feel that their religion is wide enough to receive light from all quarters and strong enough to withstand all opposition.

We come to modern times. The venerable figure of *Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Swaminatha Iyer* dominates the realm of Tamil literature for fully half a century. Ceaselessly labouring with untiring patience and industry, he carefully edits and brings out book after book of the ancient Tamil classics, thereby silently ushering in a renaissance in Tamil land. It may perhaps take another half century for Tamilakam to realise the extent of the services rendered to it by the venerable pandit. Only a small fraction of the material that lay hidden in these ancient books has so far been brought to light. But that little was sufficient to infuse new life into the Tamilians. The gloom that overshadowed the country during the past four centuries is slowly passing away and a new dawn is in sight. The harbinger of the approaching dawn is our latest poet *Subrahmanya Bharathi*. He is essentially a religious poet. With religious mysticism he combines an unbounded love for the poor and the downtrodden. The poems that he addresses to Kannan (Sri Krishna) are as sweet and soul-stirring as any that we meet with in ancient literature; the hymns to Shakti are grander than the old hymns addressed to Korravai. The charm of his lyrics, and the dignified tone of his patriotic songs have endeared him to his people. The healthy outlook on life underlying his poems has a universal appeal. He views humanity as a whole and stands ready to embrace the North and the South, the East and the West, the Brahman and the outcaste as well as the educated and the illiterate. May the Tamil people, the inheritors of a glorious civilisation, view the world with the eyes of Bharathi, their latest poet and rising above narrow sectarianism and petty social conventions march on the path that will lead them to the Divine Spirit, which is the source of all goodness, beauty and truth.

Pahruli பஃறுளி; *Kumari* குமரி; *Mā Kīrti* மாகீர்த்தி; *Tholkappiyam* தொல்காப்பியம்; *Kavadapuram* கபாடபுரம்; *Thenmadurai* தென்மதுரை; *Oozhi* ஊழி; *Nacchinarkiniyar* நச்சினார்க்கினியர்; *Tholkappiyar* தொல்காப்பியர்; *Agattiyar* அகத்தியர்; *Athankōttāsan* அதங்கோட்டாசான்; *Dwarāpathi* துவராபதி; *Pothiyam* பொதியம்; *Kaviri* காவிரி; *Kānta-man* காந்தமன்; *Muruga* முருகன்; *Korravai* கொற்றவை; *Arivar* அறிவர்; *Thapathar* தாபதர்; *Māyōn* மாயோன்; *Vāliyōn* வாலியோன்; *Thodi-thol-Chempian* தொடித்தோட் செம்பியன்; *Indra-vila* இந்திரவிழா; *Vadimp-alamba-ninra-pandyan* வடிம்பலம்ப நின்றபாண்டியன்; *Paripadal* பரிபாடல்; *Muthu-kudumi-Peru-vazhuthi* முதுகுடுமிப்பெருவழுதி;

Pal-yāga-salai பல்யாகசாலை; *Peru-nar-killi* who performed the *Rajasuya* sacrifice இராஜசூயம் வேட்ட பெருநற்கிள்ளி; *Tiru-valluvar* திருவள்ளுவர் *Uttara veda* உத்தரவேதம்; *Kōvalan* கோவலன்; *Kannaki* கண்ணகி; *Ilanko-adikal* இளங்கோவடிகள்; *Manimekhalai* மணிமேகலை; *Ara-vana-adikal* அறவணவடிகள்; *Pukār* புகார்; *Kavirippūmpattinam* காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம்; *Arya-padai-kadantha-nedun-cheliyan* ஆரியப்படைகடந்த நெடுஞ்செழியன்; *Tirumular* திருமூலர்; *Karaikal ammaiyar* காரைக்காலம்மையார்; *Tirugnana-Sambandhar* திருஞானசம்பந்தர்; *Appar* அப்பர்; *Kāpāli* காபாலி; *Māvrati* மாவிரதி; *Pāsupathar* பாசுபதர்; *Āndal* ஆண்டாள்; *Periyālwar* பெரியாழ்வார்; *Sundara-murti Nayanar* சுந்தரமூர்த்தி நாயனர்; *Tiru-mangai-mannan* திருமங்கைமன்னன்; *Manicka-vasagar* மாணிக்கவாசகர்; *Nighantu* நிகண்டு; *Ālwar* ஆழ்வார்; *Nayanmār* நாயன்மார்; *Jayankondan* ஜயங்கொண்டான்; *Kalingattupparani* கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி; *Meikandan* மெய்கண்டான்; *Tiruvennai-nallur* திருவெண்ணெய் நல்லூர்; *Siva-gnana-bodham* சிவஞானபோதம்; *Sakala-Agama-Panditha* சகலாகம பண்டிதர்; *Arul-nandi-Sivacharya* அருணந்தி சிவாசாரியர்; *Siva-gnana-Siddhiyār* சிவஞான சித்தியார்; *Irupa-irupathu* இருபா இருபஃது; *Marai-gnana-Sambandhar* மறைஞான சம்பந்தர்; *Umapathi-Sivacharya* உமாபதி சிவாசாரியர்; *Sankalpa- nirakaranam* சங்கற்ப நிராகரணம்; *Sthala-puranam* ஸ்தலபுராணம்; *Tiruvavaduthurai Athinam* திருவாவடுதுறை ஆதீனம்; *Sivaprakāsa Desikar* சிவப்பிரகாச தேசிகர்; *Linganna* இலிங்கணபத்தர்; *Kumara guru-para-swamikal* குமரகுருபர சுவாமிகள்; *Sivagra-Yogikal* சிவாக்கிரயோகிகள்; *Veerai Alawandar* வீரை ஆளவந்தார்; *Sri Pattar* ஸ்ரீபட்டர்; *Tatwa Rayar* தத்துவராயர்; *Kannudaiya Vallalār* கண்ணுடைய வள்ளலார்; *Divya Prabandham* திவ்யப்பிரபந்தம்; *Omar* உமறு; *Pillai-perumal-Aiyengar* பிள்ளைப்பெருமாளையங்கார்; *Thāyumānavar* தாயுமானவர்; *Ramalinga Swamigal* இராமலிங்க சுவாமிகள்; *Arumuga Navalar* ஆறுமுகநாவலர்; *Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Swaminatha Aiyer* மஹாமஹோபாத்யாய டாக்டர் சாமிநாதையர்; *Subrahmanya Bharathi* சுப்பிரமணிய பாரதி.

The Ancient Tamil Theatre.

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SOURCES OF STUDY.

This paper attempts to give a more or less complete account of the theatre of the Tamils of many centuries ago. Any such study cannot but bank largely upon the *Silappadikāram* and particularly on the masterly commentary of Adiyārkkunallār on the third canto called *Arangērru-kādai,* which describes Mādhavi's debut as a dancer. Several other classics such as *Maṇimēkalai, Jīvakasintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkadai* also contain very valuable though incidental references to the theatre. The literary source of information is further reinforced and clinched by a body of no less than forty inscriptions of the spacious days of the Tanjore Cholas. Lastly the sculptures of 108 dancing poses and jazz dancers of the Chidambaram temple shed an interesting light on an important aspect of the Tamil theatrical art of the past.

The arts of dancing and acting are ancient ones in Tamilaham. The oldest Tamil grammar attributed to Agattia and hence styled *Agattiyam* classifies Tamil literature into three categories, *viz., iyal* or prose and poetry, *isai* or musical pieces, and *nāṭakam* or drama. This classification presupposes the existence of plays and their staging before and in the time of the author. It is unfortunate that not one of them has survived the wreck of time. Later on during the Augustan Age of Tamil literature,[1] as Dr. S. K. Ayyangar puts it, many specialised works on drama seem to have been written. Adiyārkkunallār cites in his great commentary *Bharatam, Panchabhāratīyam, Bharatasēnapatīyam, Sayantam, Kūttanūl, Madivāṇan-nāṭakanūl*[2] and many others most of which had perished already in the days of the commentator himself. From the titles of some of the above books one may see clearly that a noble attempt was made to bring about a synthesis between the principles and practices of the Tamil and Sanskrit dramas. This literary activity is an index of the vogue and popularity of the theatre in the country of the Tamils in the past.

1. *Ancient India.* p. 337.
2. *Silappadikāram.* (Swaminathier's Edition—1927). pp. 79f.

TAMIL THEATRE ARCHITECTURE.

Let us now consider the Tamil theatre and its architecture. There were three kinds of theatres from their situation point of view. They were either temple theatres or palace theatres or public theatres. As regards the first an inscription of the time of Uttamasōḷa mentions a *nāṭakasāla-manḍapam* in the Siva temple at Tiruvadigai.[3] A *nānāvida-nāṭkasālai* is referred to in an inscription of Kulottunga I.[4] Provision for the performance of plays in temples during festivals is made in certain inscriptions of Tiruvaduturai, Nallur and Tanjore.[5] An example of the second type of theatres can be found in the *Unjaikāṇḍam* of *Peruṅkadai,* where the poet describes the *araṅgu* in which the heroine, Vāsavadatta, displays her attainments as a *vīṇā* player for the approval of the learned audience of the palace. The occurrence in the same work of a phrase *"kōin-nāṭaka-kuḷukkal"* means apparently corporations of players attached to the king's theatre.[6]

Of these the public theatres are the most numerous. Many references to *āḍambalam, kūttaḍiṭam, kūttar-paḷḷi* and *nāṭka-araṅgu* may be met with in a number of Sangam works. According to the *Silappadikāram* they were situated in the heart of the town and on car streets if not in bazaar streets.[7] They were not merely "a small stage intended for dance"[8] but of sufficient dimensions to suit the performance

3. M.E.R. No. 398 of 1921.
4. Ibid. No. 152 of 1925.
5. Ibid. No. 120 of 1925, 250 of 1926 and No. 124 of S. I. I. Vol. III, part 3.

6. "வாயிற் கூத்துஞ், சேரிப்பாடலுங்,
கோயினாடகக் குழுக்களும் வருகென." *Unjaikkāṇḍam.* ll. 87 and 88.

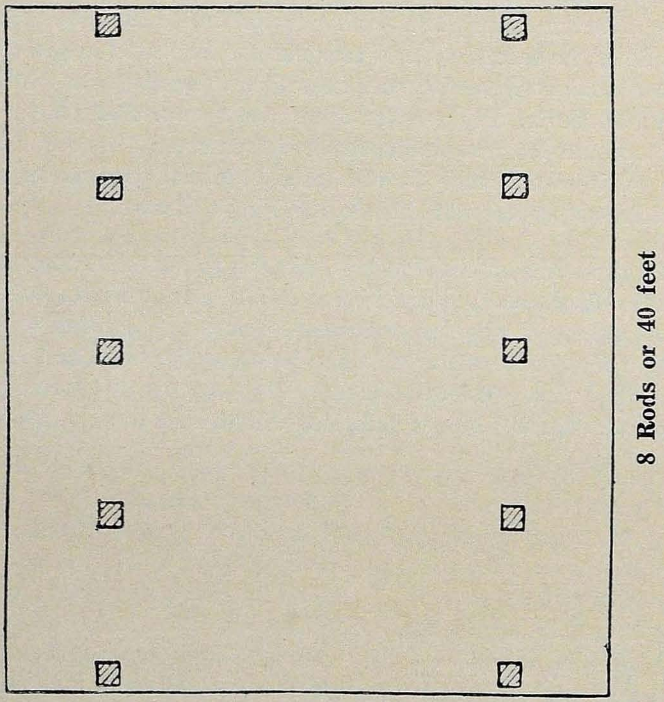
7. "ஊரகத்தாகி யுளைமான் பூண்ட
தேரகத்தோடுந் தெருவுமுக நோக்கிக்
கோடல் வேண்டும் ஆடரங் கதுவே."
Silappadikāram. Arangērrukkadai. p. 114.

"ஆடம்பலமு மாவண மருகுங்
கீதசாலையும்" *Peruṅkadai, Unjaikāṇḍam,* ll. 130 and 131.

8. Triveni. Vol. IV, No. 6, p. 76, fn. i, "The Silappadikāram describes a small stage intended for dance."

of plays. The measurements of a normal stage are given in the *Silappadikāram.*[9] They were reckoned in terms of a measuring rod of the length of 24 thumbs of an average size. This gives us roughly a length of 5 feet for the rod. The floor of the stage was 7 rods or 35 ft wide, 8 rods or 40 ft. long and 1 rod or 5 ft. above the floor level. The height of the hall between the floor and the cross beam above was

Ground plan of the Stage



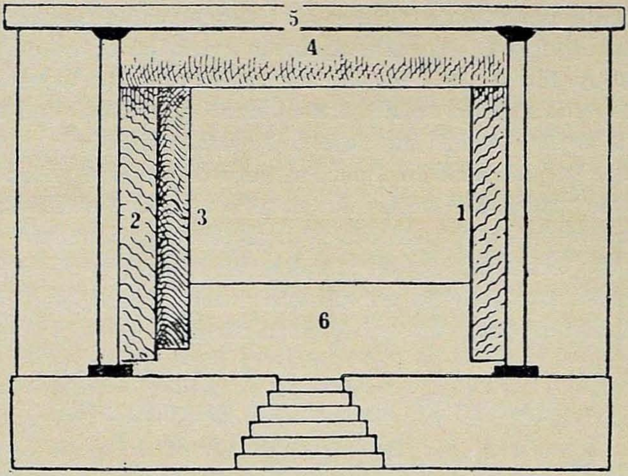
7 Rods or 35 feet **(Scale 1 Rod = ½″)**

4 rods or 20 ft. In front of it there was a pit for the king and the nobles. Around the pit there was room for the common people. No measurements are given about the latter two.

9. "அளக்குங்
கோலள விருபத்து நால் விரலாக
எழுகோலகலத் தெண்கோ னீளத்
தொரு கோலுயரத் துறுப்பின தாகி
யுத்திரப்பலகை யோடரங்கின்பலகை
வைத்த விடைநில நாற்கோலாக"

Silappadikāram, Arangērrukkadai, ll. 99-104.

Front view of the Stage



4 Rods or 20 feet

1 Rod or 5 feet

7 Rods or 35 feet **(Scale 1 Rod = ½″)**

AUDITORIUM

1. *ஒருமுக எழினி* or side screen (left)
2. 3. ,, Two right side screens.
4. *கரந்துவரல் எழினி* or 'Drop'
5. *உத்தரப்பலகை* or cross beam.
6. *அரங்கின் பலகை* or wooden floor of the stage

N.B.:—This reconstruction of the Tamil Stage is made with the help of Śilappadikāram, Aranguṛṛukādai ll. 100—114 and Perunkadai, Unjaikāndam ll. 54-56.

This stage was suitably furnished.[10] The facade was tastefully decorated with the pictures of the representative *bhutās* of the four

10. "*ஏற்ற வாயி லிரண்டுடன் பொலியத்*
தோற்றிய வரங்கிற் றொழுதன ரேத்தப்
பூதரை யெழுதி மேனிலை வைத்துத்
தூணிழர் புறப்பட மாண்விளக் கெடுத்தாங்
கொருமுக வெழினியும் புரிந்துடன் வகுத்தாங்
கோவிய விதானத் துரைபெறு நித்திலத்து
மாலைத்தாமம் வளையுடனாற்றி
விருந்து படக்கிடந்த வருந்தொழி லரங்கத்துப்"

Arangērrukkadai, ll. 105-113.

"*கொடியு மலருங் கொள்வழி யெழுதிப்*
பிடியுங் களிறும் பிறவுமின்னவை
வடிமாண் சோலையொடு வகைபெற வரைந்து
நயத்திறம் பொருந்த நாடகங் கண்டும்" *Unjaikāṇḍam*, ll. 63-66.

castes, the *navagrahās* and stars. The interior of the stage was illumined with rows of standing lamps which were so skilfully disposed as to prevent the shadow of the pillars from falling either on the actors or on the spectators. The scenario consisted of an overhanging painted canopy, three side curtains or screens, one on the left and two on the right, and a drop which was hidden in the roof and let down as occasions arose. Sometimes the drop was painted over with the images of *dēvās*. Secreted in the floor were trap-doors. Scenes representing flower gardens, forests and caves of rishis were also used. There were two doorways which served as the way-in and the way-out for the actors. The finishing touch was given by strings of pearls which were arranged into flowing curves and waving pendants. In short, the ancient Tamils knew the art of stage furnishing.

VARIETIES OF PLAYS ENACTED.

The theatre was used both for dancing performances and the enactment of dramas. In fact in Tamil *kūttu* means dancing as well as drama. Two main varieties of plays were known. They were, namely, *sāndikūttu* and *vinōdakūttu*.[11] The former may be rendered as sober drama and the latter as extravaganza. The first was acted by well-born actors and the second by lower classes. *Sāndikūttu* is often mentioned in Chola inscriptions. For example, a record of the reign of Rajādirāja II says that an officer of the king provided for the performance of *sāndikūttu* on the occasion of the Arudra festival in a temple in the Pudukottah State.[12] *Sāndikūttu* comprised four kinds of *kūttu* viz., *sokkam, meikūttu, avinayakūttu* and *nāṭakam*. Of these the first was dance pure and simple involving the display of 108 poses of hands; the second was the expression of mental states through external form and songs. It was also called *agamārkkam*. An interesting inscription at Tiruvorriyur records that Rajaraja III witnessed the performance of *agamārkkam* by one Uṛavākkināt-talaikōli.[13] *Avinaya-*

11. ' இருவகைக் கூத்தினி லக்கண மறிந்து
பலவகைக் கூத்தும் விலக்கினிற்புணர்த்து.''

Arangērrukkādai, ll. 12 and 13 and pages 80-81.

12. No. 139, Pudukottah State Inscriptions,

13. M.E.R. No. 211 of 1912.

kūttu was of an amorous sort. It consisted in the interpretation of amatory songs by means of sensuous gestures. It was also called *vallabam*. *Nāṭakam* was any story told through the medium of action, speech and song.

Vinōdakūttu was of seven kinds. They were *kuravai, kalinaṭam, kuḍakkūttu, karaṇam, nōkku, tōṛpāvai* and *vidhūshakakkūttu*. *Kuravai* resembled the Greek chorus. A band of young women sang the victories or the loves of a great hero or a king and danced as they sang. *Āychchiyar-kuravai* in *Silappadikāram*[14] was one of love theme whereas the *Rajaraja-nāṭakam* performed in the Great Temple at Tanjore at the time of Gangaikonḍasōḷa had victory for its theme. Even to-day the *kuravanji-kūttu* is played during the festival of Chitirai-Sadayam, the natal star of Rajaraja the Great. *Kalinaṭam, kuḍakkūttu* and *karanam* were street shows of an acrobatic character like rope-dancing, pot-dancing and cutting of somersaults. The long belt of sculptures round the basement of the Thousand-pillared mandapam at Chidambaram illustrates these *kūttus*. *Nōkku* was necromancy and probably included mesmerism. *Tōṛpāvai* was marionette show which has not perished as yet in southern India. *Vidūshakakkūttu* was a farce or a rollicking comedy, the fun of which lay particularly in the caricaturing of well-known types of men and generally it was an extravaganza of any description. This was also known as *Vasai-kūttu*.

There was still another division of drama as Tamil and Āryam. *Āryakkūttu* was obviously an adaptation of Sanskrit plays to Tamil stage. This account of *Silappadikāram* is borne out by epigraphical evidence. A Tiruvaduturai inscription of the 10th century A.D., registers the grant of land to one Kumaran Sīkandan for acting the seven *aṅkas* of *āryakkūttu*.[15] Singalese and Vaḍuga varieties of *kūttu* seem to have also been known.

All the above described plays were essentially musical ones. Hence the importance attached to accompaniments. *Yāl*, an instrument of very high order, now forgotten, *kuḷal* or the flute, *taṇṇumai* or the drum now known as *mrdaṅgam* and cymbals were played in harmony with the songs of the vocalist and the dance of the actors. So the ancient Tamil drama was not merely the telling of a story in the form of dialogues but a complex of story, dialogue, dance and music.

14. 17th canto of *Silappadikāram*. p. 441.
15. M.E.R. No. 120 of 1925.

THE STATUS OF THE COMMUNITY OF ACTORS AND DANCERS.

Dancing and acting were confined to a separate *gaṇa* or corporation and hence the woman of the *gaṇa* came to be known as *gaṇika* which meant both a member of the *gaṇa* and a dancing woman and actor. In Chola inscriptions the men were called sometimes *sākkai* which in Malayalam denotes the offspring of the pre-marital liaison of a Nambudri woman.[16] There is no doubt that they were an ancient institution and there was always a stigma on their community. It is problematic whether it was within the recognised pale of the Hindu caste system. Even to-day it is considered to be outside the caste frame-work though they themselves claim to be *Isai-vēḷāḷās*. The Manual of the Pudukottah State records the fact that "they have a high opinion of their social status . . . . stating that their profession is merely an accident."[17]

Their origin seems to be a mystery. The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer attempts an interesting explanation which deserves to be quoted *in extenso*. "These sea-nymphs (the *apsaras* born in the churning of the Milky Ocean) requested the *dēvās* and *asurās* to take them in wedlock. That was refused probably because they did not belong to the races inhabiting this land; ever after, they came to be known as *sādāraṇa* women . . . . It looks as if these women were from a different land, very likely they were slaves and purchased."[18] The Tamil tradition as embodied in literature gives them a legendary origin. Ūrvasi, one of the chorus-girls of the court of Indra, was cursed once, on account of her indifference, to be born as a mortal on the earth.[19] She was the progenitor of the community of *gaṇikas* and *sākkiyar*. This origin from a woman explains the custom of inheriting through the mother prevalent in the community. These facts go to show that they were outside the caste in the past. They might be foreigners stranded in India and later degenerated.

There is reason to believe that their ranks were augmented in the course of time by men and women of many castes. Economic considerations might well have played a large part in the process. An inscription of the 12th century records the sale of the wife of a *veḷḷāḷa* and other fourteen individuals comprising his daughter, grandsons and

16. Q.J.M.S. Vol. X. p. 208.
17. M.P.S. p. 214.
18. Q.J.M.S. Vol. XIII. p. 690.
19. *Arangērrukkādai*, l. 4; *Kaḍalādukādai*. ll. 20-24.

others to the service of the temple. Even a soldier of a royal regiment assigned certain women of his family as *dēvaraḍiyār* to the Tiruvallam temple and they were branded with trident mark to show that they belonged to Siva.[20]

Inspite of the fact that they were despised for shady morality they enjoyed a privileged position in society. The explanation for this paradox is that they were usually learned and well-versed in the fine arts and remarkable for charming manners. Mādhavi in *Silappadikāram* is the portrayal of a lovely courtesan, born of a distinguished family and remarkable for proficiency as a singer, dancer, and even composer.[21] Mr. H. C. Chakladar remarks that the *gaṇikas,* like the hataerae in the classical Greece, were generally more educated and better skilled than the married woman.[22] Hence the society regarded them as a necessary evil. The powers that be patronised them. They were invited as a rule to all functions in the royal household. Distinguished talent among them was rewarded by the king with honours. A pair of fly whisks and a golden parasol, a betal-and-nut case set with jewels, an elephant and a bevy of handmaids besides a title were some of the honours they received from the ruler.[23] Classical Tamil literature informs us that expert women dancers were invested with the title of talaikōli.[24] An inscription from Tiruvorriyur mentions one Urvakkinatalaikōli. Houses were granted free to them by the king and also tax-

20. M.E.R. Nos. 219 of 1925, 230 of 1921; others to the same effect are 562 of 1921, 74 of 1925, 137 of 1925, 86 of 1911 and 80 of 1913.

21. "வானவர் மகளிர்
சிறப்பிற் குன்றாச் செய்கையொடு பொருந்திய
பிறப்பிற் குன்றாப் பொருந்தோண் மடந்தை
தாதவிழ் புரிகுழன் மாதவிதன்னை
யாடலும் பாடலு மழகு மென்றிக்
கூறிய மூன்றி னொன்றுகுறை படாமல்" *Arangērrukkādai.* ll. 6-9.
" கானல்வரிப் பாடற்பாணி
நிலத்தெய்வம் வியப்பெய்த நீணிலத்தோர் மனமகிழக்
கலத்தொடு புணர்ந்தமைத்த கண்டத்தாற் பாடத்தொடங்குமன் "
Kānalvari. v. 24.

22. *Studies in the Kāmasūtra.* p. 202.

23. "சாமரை யிரட்டையுந் தமனியக்குடையு
மாமணி யடைப்பையு மருப்பியலூர்தியும்
பைந்தொடி யாயமும் பட்டமு முடையோர்" *Unjaikāṇḍam.* ll. 21-24.

24. "தலைக்கோலரிவை குணத்தொடு பொருந்தி
நலத்தகு பாடலும் மாடலுமிக்கோள்." *Silappadikāram.* p. 118.

free lands. [25] Even villages were named after them. The above mentioned woman had the unique honour of lending her name to a village which was called Uravakkina-nallur. They sometimes formed an item in the presents or tributes made by one ruler to another. Not even did the temple authorities hesitate to accord certain honours and privileges to the dancing woman.

The men of the community were musicians and also tutors in dancing, singing and acting. They, in their turn, were the recipients of munificent gifts from the king of the country. Special proprietary rights over lands were given to them as *naṭṭuvakkāṇi, nrttyabhōga* and *sakkaikāṇi* for teaching dancing and coaching up actors.[26] Talented men among them were raised to high official ranks of *mārayan* and *arayan.* We meet with titles such a *vādyamārāyan, sakkaimārayan* and *niruttapērayan* in some Chola inscriptions.[27]

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25. "நெடு நீர்க்கழனி சூழ் நியமஞ் சேர்த்தி விழவயர்ந்து
வடி நீர் நெடுங்கண்ணார் கூத்தும் பாட்டும் வகுத்தாரே."

Sīvakasintamani, Muttūlambakam, v. 2601.

26. M.E.R. Nos. 120 of 1925, 361 of 1924.

27. M.E.R. No. 255 of 1925 and 65 of 1914.

have made adverse criticisms of it. Conspicuous among them are Upavarṣa, the famous vṛttikāra in the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsā systems, Śabarasvāmin, the author of the bhāṣya on the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras and Vātsyāyana, the author of the Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya.

The Position of the Vyākaraṇa Sāstra just before Bhartṛhari.

During the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, great attention was not paid to the study of the Sanskrit grammar, much less of the philosophy of śabda. Bhartṛhari says at the end of the second kāṇḍa of his Vākyapadīya[12] that the southerners alone studied the text of the 'sacred' Mahābhāṣya, while the sacred āryāvarta concentrated on the dry logic (śuṣkātarka) of Baiji, Haryakṣa and Saubhava, etc. Candragomin whom Bhartṛhari refers to as Candrācārya and to whom a Brahmarakṣas gave the Vyākaraṇāgama written and kept hidden under a rock by Rāvaṇa at the Trikūṭa mountain,[13] is the author next responsible for the revival and further development of the Pāṇiniyan school of Sanskrit grammar. This Cāndrācārya is known as the author of the Cāndrāvyākaraṇa which is nothing but an amplifica-

12. The Mahābhāṣya is known as *ārṣa* and *saṅgrahapratikañcuka*—the sacred strong substitute for Vyāḍi's Saṅgraha which somehow fell into the hands of some petty grammarians and extinguished for ever. cf. Verses 484 to 493.

'Prāyeṇa saṅkṣeparucīn alpavidyāparigrahān;
saṁprāpya vaiyākaraṇān saṅgrahestamupāgate.
Kṛte atha Patañjalinā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā;
sarveṣāṁ nyāyabījānāṁ mahābhāṣye nibandhane.
Alabdhagādhe gāmbhīryāt uttāna iva sauṣṭhavāt;
kasmin akṛtabuddhīnāṁ naivāvasthitaniścayaḥ.
Baiji-Saubhava-Haryakṣaiḥ śuṣkatarkānusāribhiḥ;
ārśe viplāvite granthe saṇgrahapratikañcuke.
Yaḥ Patañjaliśiṣyebhyo bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamaḥ;
kāle sa dākṣiṇātyeṣu granthamātre vyavasthitaḥ.
Parvatādāgamaṁ labdhvā bhāṣyabījānusāribhiḥ;
sa nīto bahuśākhatvam Candrācāryādibhiḥ punaḥ
Nyayaprasthānamārgāṁstānabhyasya svañca darśanam;
praṇīto guruṇāsmākaṁ ayamāgamasaṅgrahaḥ.
Vartmanāmatra keṣāñcit vastumātramudāhṛtam;
kāṇḍe tṛtīye nyakṣeṇa bhaviṣyati vicāranā.
Prajñā vivekaṁ labhate bhinnairāgamadarśanaiḥ;
kiyadvā śakyamunnetuṁ svatarkamanudhāvatā.
Tattadutprekṣamāṇāṁ purānairāgamaiḥ vinā;
anupāsitavṛddhānāṁ vidyā nātiprasīdati'.

13. Puñjarāja comments the verse—'Parvatādāgamam labdhvā' etc., as follows:—Parvatāt Trikūṭaikadeśavartitriliṅgaikadeśāt iti. taṭra hi upalatale Rāvaṇaviracito mūlabhūtavyākaranāgamāḥ tiṣṭhati kenacicca brahmarakṣasā ānīya candrācārya-vasurātaguruprabhṛtīnīṁ datta iti." (V. Padīya. p. 285.).

tion of the Pāṇiniyan system. From him, perhaps, Vasurātasūnu has studied the Mahābhāṣya which in turn was learnt and popularised by Bhartṛhari who, on the lines enunciated by Patañjali, systematised the sphoṭa doctrine in his famous Vākyapadīya.

Bhartṛhari's Date and works.

Before we speak of Bhartṛhari's contribution to the sphoṭa doctrine (as explained in the Brahmakāṇḍa of his Vākyapadīya), a word on his date and literary attainments may not be out of place.[14] I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, mentions in his 'Travels' Bhartṛhari's death about 650 A.D. This is the most authentic external evidence for his date. This and the other internal evidences justify the conclusion that Bhartṛhari flourished during the first half of the 7th century. His famous commentary on the Mahābhāṣya known as Tripādī (which extends only to the first three pādas of the first chapter of the Aṣṭādhyāyī) and his metrical Vākyapadīya[15] with his own vṛtti on the philosophy of grammar, his ṭīkā, known as Hariṭīkā, on the Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtras quoted by Pārthasārathimiśra[16] of 9th or 10th century A.D. and his

14. The identity between Bhaṭṭi and Bhartṛhari is suggested by Prof. Pathak on the supposition that the word *Bhaṭṭi* is a contracted prākṛtic form of Bhartṛhari. This suggestion is not yet finally accepted.

15. There is every probability for the Vākyapadīya being a fitting introduction to Hari's own ṭīkā on the Mahābhāṣya.

16. In his Śāstradīpikā X. 2, 22, Pārthasārathi Miśra quotes one Hari—'tathāca *haribhiḥ* uktam (*hariniruktam*)' etc. Will this one quotation be sufficient to prove the above view? Similarly, many scholars base their view that Bhartṛhari has written a commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, on a reference made by Yāmunācārya in his Siddhitraya "yadyapi bhagavatā Bādarāyaṇena idamarthānyeva sūtrāṇi pranītni . . . . tathāpi ācārya ṭaṇka-bhatṛprapañca-bhartṛhari-brahmadatta-Śaṅkara-Śrī Vatsāṅka-bhāskarādiviracitasitāsitavividha-nibandhanaśraddhāvipralabdhabuddhayo na yathāvat anyathā ca pratipadyante iti tatpratipattaye ca yuktaḥ prakaraṇaprakramaḥ."—(Benares Edition pages 4-5.). I am, however, inclined to believe—until more positive evidence is forthcoming—that Bhartṛhari has discussed most of the mīmāṁsā doctrines of the 12 chapters as applied to loka and the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra in his Vākyapadiyaṭīkā itself (from which P. Misra might have cited), a summary of which we have in Puñjarāja's commentary on Kāṇḍa II. Verses 79-85. (Benares Edition. pages 100-116.). Similarly, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣitā's remark in his Śabdakaustubha (Benares Edition. p. 12.) "tadevam varāṭikānveṣaṇāya pravṛttaḥ cintāmaṇiṁ labdhavāniti vāsiṣṭharāmāyaṇoktābhāṇakan yāyena śabdavicārāya pravṛttaḥ san prasaṅgāt advaite aupaniṣade Brahmaṇyapi vyutpādyatāmiti abhiprāyeṇa bhagavān Bhartṛhariḥ Vivarta-vādādikamapi prasaṅgāt vyudapādayat"—makes one believe that if Bhartṛhari had ever an idea to comment on the Brahmasūtras, he would not have so ably advocated his Vivarta doctrine in his Vākyapadīya.

Subhāṣitatriśatī (300 popular verses on nīti, śṛṅgāra and vairāgya) often quoted by Abhinavagupta of 10th or 11th century—all these clearly indicate the versatility of his talents.

Bhartṛhari—a Śabda-monist.

In his Vākyapadīya, which is the only work we are here concerned with, Bhartṛhari clearly says that he is an out-and-out *Advaitin* (monist)[17] who believes in the ultimate reality of the one Being, viz., śabda, from which this universe evolves. The first five verses[18] sum up his views on śabda-monism and form a eloquent plea for the sphoṭa-doctrine. This śabda, the sonant substratum or the essence of speech which is equated with Brahman, is devoid of both beginning and end and manifests[19] itself in this phenomenal world, Brahman being the efficient cause.

Śabdabrahman as one ultimate Reality.

What is known in the Vedas as the 'eka, advitīya Brahman' is ordinarily experienced by all in different forms and capacities; and this, Bhartṛhari says, is due to the various upādhis—limiting conditions imposed upon the Supreme Being. Hence the experiences representing

17. There is still a belief among the historians that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist. But Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadīya was never a Buddhist, was always a believer in the apauruṣeyatva of the vedas and was ever a champion of the śabdabrahmavivartavāda.

18. Anādinidhanaṁ brahma śabdatatvaṁ yadakṣaram
Vivartate arthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ
Ekameva yadāmnātaṁ bhinnaṁ śaktivyapāśrayāt
apṛthaktvepi śabdebhyaḥ pṛthaktvenaiva vartate
Avyāhatāḥ Kalā Kālaśaktimupāśritāḥ
janmādayo vikārāḥ ṣaṭ bhāvabhedasya yonayaḥ
Ekasya sarvabījasya yasya ceyamanekadhā
bhoktṛ-bhoktavyarūpeṇa bhogarūpeṇa ca sthitiḥ
Prāptyupāyonukāraśca tasya vedo maharṣibhiḥ
ekopyanekavartmeva samāmnātaḥ pṛthak pṛthak
[V. Padīya Kāṇḍa I. Verses 1-5.]

19. Bhartṛhari belongs to the school of Vivartavādins who explain this universe as a vivarta of Brahman (*i.e.,*) a seeming manifestation having no separate reality behind it except that of Brahman, in contrast with the school of Pariṇāmāvādins who accept the transformation of Brahman into the separate existence or reality of, the world. e.p. śvarūpānupamardena anyathābhāvo vivartaḥ—yathā—rajjusarpe; svarūpopamardena anyathābhāvaḥ pariṇāmaḥ—yathā—kṣīradadhni' Or more accurately, 'atātvikānyathābhāvaḥ Vivartaḥ'; tātvikānyathābhāvaḥ pariṇāmaḥ.'

the six stages of the phenomenal world—birth, existence, transformation, growth, decay and destruction—present the characteristics of Kālaśakti, popularly known as *māyā* in the system of Vedānta philosophy. As the Advaitins say, this Kālaśakti possesses different and sometimes opposite properties like *satva* and *asatva* and consequently this universe appears differently as *bhoktṛ* (enjoyer), *bhoktavya* (enjoyable) and *bhoga* (enjoyment). It is again through this *Kālaśakti or* māyā that the Absolute Brahman manifests itself in the form of this manifold world. This *Kālaśakti* is again described as neither *sat* nor *asat—anirvacanīya,* i.e., it is neither separate from nor identical with the Absolute.

The Vedas as sources of the Realisation of Śabdabrahman.

To realise this Absolute Brahman man aspires and hence he studies the Vedas which glorify Its nature. It is because of this glorification that the sages have called them 'Brahman.' So they are the Brahman in miniature (*aṇukāra*). Bhartṛhari strongly asserts here that mankind cannot find better means than the Vedas to understand the nature of the ultimate Reality in this world. Man may rely on his reason, but, as Bhartṛhari says, it has not only not helped him but has even spoiled him, firstly because it has not given him the satisfactory solution for many vital puzzling problems of life like the existence of Īśvara and the origin and true nature of this world; and secondly because it leaves a residue of doubt in him, so much so that he is disinclined to accept the solution given in the Vedas for the abovementioned problems. As true revelations, they are of super-normal authority, and as such, are invaluable records of truth. It is on this main ground that Bhartṛhari lays down the general principle that on questions of at least a super-normal (alaukika) character, āgama (Vedas, Smṛtis, etc., generally known as śāstra)[20] is the only authority, and tarka (reason or reasonable arguments chiefly in the form of syllogism) is unreliable, for[21] however great might be a man's intellectual attainments, his well-thought-out syllogism will in no time be proved fallacious by a greater intellectual giant. He adds[22] that a man who relies simply on his reason in *alaukika* matters is for ever doomed just

20. Compare the Bhagavadgītā—tasmāt *śāstraṁ* pramāṇaṁ te kāryākāryavyavasthitau.'

21. 'Yatnenānumitopyarthaḥ kuśalaiḥ anumātṛbhiḥ
abhiyuktataraiḥ anyaiḥ anyathaivopapādyate,
Kāṇḍa I. Verse 34.

22. 'Hastasparśādivāndhena viṣamepyabhidhāvatā
anumānapradhānena vinipāto na durlabhaḥ.'

as a blind man who only touches with his hands the slope of a huge precipice and advances further is doomed to death by an instantaneous fall.

The Vyākaraṇa Śāstra as the most important aṅga of the Vedas.

A proper study of the Vedas necessarily requires a proper study of the six vedāṅgas of which the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra is the most important.[23] Bhartṛhari, like Patañjali, believes in the doctrine of śadhu-śabda-prayoga begetting Dharma, cf. 'ekaḥ śabdaḥ susṭhu jñātaḥ samyak prayuktaḥ svarge loke kāmadhuk bhavati.' To use correctly a correct śabda involves great labour and investigation on the part of the speaker and this can be attained only by a systematic study of the vyākaraṇa śāstra. So patañjali says that the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra is the greatest among the six vedāṅgas, and a thorough study of it would certainly secure for the reader the fruits of the study of all the Vedas, cf. 'pradhānam ca ṣaṭsu aṅgeṣu vyākaraṇam, pradhāne ca kṛto yatnaḥ phalavān bhavati.' Bhartṛhari also concurs in Patañjali's view and explains the same more emphatically. He says[24] that the learned describe the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra as the nearest approach to Brahman, viz., Veda; as the highest of all austerities and as the first and foremost of the vedāṅgas.

It is again described[25] as the right or direct path which leads to the understanding of the true nature of speech, which is glorified in the Vedas[26] as the most brilliant light which illuminates this whole universe and whence this universe evolves. Again, it is called the door of apavarga—salvation and is a medicine to cure the diseases of language. Purest of all vidyās, it shines resplendent in every branch of knowledge.

23. The importance of the V. Śāstra lies in the fact that it *directly* helps the vedic student very much in the interpretation of the vedas by giving him correct derivation, accent and meaning,, etc., of the words and thus unlike the other aṅgas, produces a dṛṣṭaphala (an immediate fruit). This idea is explained by Bhartṛhari in his V. Padīya. Kāṇḍa I. Verse; "āsannaṁ brahmaṇaḥ tasya tapasāmuttamaṁ tapaḥ. Prathamaṁ cchandasāmaṅgaṁ prāhuḥ vyākaraṇaṁ budhāh." Compare the remarks made by Patañjali in the paspaśāhnika of his Mahābhāṣya, under—'rakṣohāgamalaghavasandehāḥ prayojanam'.

24. V. Padīya Kāṇḍa I. Verse 'āsannaṁ brahmaṇaḥ', etc.

25. ibid Kāṇḍa I. Verse 12. 'prāptarūpavibhāgāyāḥ yo vācaḥ paramo rasaḥ. yattatpuṇyatamaṁ jyotiḥ tasya mārgoyamāñjasah'.

26. "Trīṇi jyotīṁṣi trayaḥ prakāśāḥ yoyam jātavedāḥ yaśca puruṣeṣu āntaraḥ prakāśaḥ tatraitat sarvamupanibadham yāvat sthāsnu cariṣṇu ceti"—(See the commentary on Verse 12. Kāṇḍa Page 7 of the Benares Edition).

The Vyākaraṇa Śāstra as a Spiritual means of the realisation of Brahman.

Bhartṛhari even goes to the length of taking the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra as one of the chief *upāyas* for the realisation of Śabda Brahman. In this respect, Bhartṛhari's view is more philosophical and speculative than that of Patañjali. Vyākaraṇa is described[28] as the sole basis of all other vidyās; it is the first rung in the ladder of realisation, and as such the straight royal road for all who seek *mokṣa*. The vedic soul, free from error, sees His own form, viz., the Vedas which are described as originating from Him. Again in this Śāstra, various elements of speech are described in detail, which, serving as symbols for the remembrance of the *Ākāśabrahman*, appear to a yogin as the reflections of Brahman Himself. What is described as the one ultimate Being in all the Vedas —Rik, Yajus, Atharva and Sāma and what is also found manifested as manifold in the phenomenal world are both realised by him who understands the true purport of the Vedas; and this can be achieved only through the help of the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra.

The two kinds of Śabdas—Dhvani and Sphoṭa

According to the Śabda-monists, śabda is conceived in different ways:—(1) *dhvani* or *varṇa*, which is the audible sound manifesting the real śabda; and (2) *sphoṭa* or the real sound which is manifested by the *dhvani*.[29] Of these two śabdas only the latter is *vācaka*—that which conveys the ideas and it is *nitya;* the former perishes after its work of manifesting the eternal *sphoṭa śabda* and hence is *anitya*.

Artha, only a Vivarta of Sphoṭa

It is on the one hand accepted by all thinkers including Sanskrit grammarians that there is complete difference between *śabda* (*vācaka*) and *artha* (*vācya*), yet the metaphysicians among the Sanskrit grammarians of whom Bhartṛhari is the foremost, hold on the other, that there is *identity* between *śabda* and *artha;* in other words, *artha* is only a

27. taddvāramapavargasya vāṅmalānāṁ cikitsitam.
pavitraṁ sarvavidyānām adhividyam prakāśate.
[V. Padīya. Kāṇḍa I. Verse 14.]

28. Verses 15—22 'yathārthajatayaḥ sarvāḥ param brahmādhigamyate' eulogise the study of the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra as the spiritual means of the realisation of the supreme Brahman.

29. The term *sphoṭa* is derived in two ways:—(1) sphuṭyate (ahivyayyate) dhvanibhiḥ ayaṁ (śabdaḥ)—that which is manifested by dhvanis, namely, the sphoṭa; (2) sphuṭati (arthaḥ) asmāt (abhivyaktaśabdāt)—that being manifested, conveys the ideas.

vivarta of *sphoṭa-śabda* when this latter is manifested and presented as possessing various properties. The relation between *śabda* and *artha*, generally known as *vācya-vācaka-bhāva* is *tādātmya*. This view is quite consistent with the theory of *śabdādvaita* which does not admit of the reality of anything other than the eternal *śabda*. And it also supports the idealistic theory of the grammarians that cognition is impossible without linguistic expression. cf. 'na sosti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamādṛte.' (V. Padīya, Kāṇḍa I, verse 124.).

(To be continued.)

உ

திருச்சிற்றம்பலம்

தேவாரப்பண்கள்.

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பண்ணைவிட்டு இசை நில்லாது ; இசையைவிட்டுப் பண்ணில்லாது; ஆதலின். பண்ணுமிசையுமாகிய விரண்டும் பூவும் அதன் மணமும் போலவும். நீரும் அதன்றண்மையும் போலவும் அத்துவிதமாக நிற்கும். இதனை :—

" பண்ணொன்ற விசைபாடுமடியார்கள் " (திருஞான-பண்-சீகாமரம்)
" பண்ணும்பத மேழும்பல வோசைத்தமிழவையும்" (திருஞான-பண்-நட்டபாடை)
" பண்ணிலோசை பழத்தினிலின்சுவை" (திருநா-பண்-இந்-திருக்குறுந்தொகை)
" பண்பொருந்த விசைபாடும் பழனஞ்சேரப்பனை" (திருநா-பண்-பழந்தக்கராகம்)
" பண்ணி னிசையாகி நின்றாய் போற்றி" (திருநா-திருத்தாண்டகம்)
" பண்ணையு மோசையும் போல" (சிவஞானபோதம். 2. சூ. க அதிகரணம்)
" பண்ணிசை வெம்பரிதிமதி " (சிவஞானசித்தியார்)

எனவரும் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தேவாரத்தானுந் திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரத்தானுஞ் சிவஞானபோதஞ் சிவஞானசித்தியாரிலுள்ள பாசுரங்களானு மறிக.

அன்றியும், உமாபதிசிவாசாரியாருந் திருமுறைகண்ட புராணத்துப் பண்ணு மிசையும் அத்துவித மெனக்கொண்டிருத்தலை :—

" இன்னிசையாற்றருந் தக்கராகத்து "
" இசைக் காந்தார பஞ்சமத்தின் "
" புல்லுமிசைப் புறநீர்மைக்கு "
" ஈண்டிசைசே ரிந்தளத்துக்கு "
" இன்னிசைதேர் தக்கேசிப் பேரிசை யாராக்கி "
" கூறுமிசை யொன்றாகக் காமரத்துச்கு "
" உற்றவிசைக் குறிஞ்சிக்கு "

" கவுசிகப்பாற் றுற்றவிசை யிரண்டாக்கித் தூயவிசைப்பஞ்சமத்துக் கற்ற விசை யொன்றாக்கி " எனவரும் இப்பாசுரங்களின் பிரிவுகளாலுங் காண்க

இன்னும் சிலப்பதிகாரம் அரங்கேற்று காதையில்,

" வங்கியத்தின் ஏழ்துளையில் சரிகமபதநி யென்னு மேழெழுத்தையும் மாத்திரைப்படுத்தித் தொழில்செய்ய இவற்றுள்ளே ஏழிசையும் பிறக்கும்; இவைபிறந்து இவற்றுள்ளே பண்கள் பிறக்கும்; என்னை,

'சரிக மபதநியென் றேழெழுத்தாற் றானம்
வரிபரந்த கண்ணினாய் வைத்துத்—தெரிவரிய
ஏழிசையுந் தோன்று மிவற்றுள்ளே பண்பிறக்குஞ்
சூழ்முதலாஞ் சுத்தத் துளை'

என்றாராகலின்.

மூலாதாரந் தொடங்கி எழுத்திஞதம் ஆளத்தியாய்ப் பின் இசையென்றும் பண்ணென்றும் பெயராம். என்னை ?

‘பாவோ டணைத லிசையென்றார் பண்ணென்றார்
மேவார் பெருந்தான மெட்டானும்—பாவா
யெடுத்தன் முதலா விருநான்கும் பண்ணிப்
படுத்தமையாற் பண்ணென்று பார்’

பல இபற்பாக்களுடனே நிறத்தை இசைத்தலால் இசை யென்றுபெயராம் பெருந்தானம் எட்டினும் கிரியைக ளெட்டாலும் பண்ணிப் படுத்தலாற் பண்ணென்று பெயராயிற்று.

பெருந்தான மெட்டாவன :—நெஞ்சு மிடறு நாக்கு மூக்கு அண்ணுக்கு உதடு பல் தலை யெனவிவை

கிரியைக ளெட்டாவன: —எடுத்தல் படுத்தல் நலிதல் கம்பிதம் குடிலம் ஒலி உருட்டு தாக்கு எனவிவை”

என்றடியார்க்கு நல்லா ரெழுதிய உரைப்பகுதியானும் பண்ணுமிசையு மத்துவிதமென விளங்குமாறறிக.

பல இயற்பாக்களுடனே நிறத்தை இசைத்தலா லிசையாமென்பதனை,

“புறம்பயத் திறைவரை வணங்கிப் போற்றிசெய்
திறம்புரி நீர்மையிற் பதிகச் செந்தமிழ்
நிறம்பயி லிசையுடன் பாடி நீடிய
அறந்தரு கொள்கையா ரமர்ந்து மேவினார்”

“நிறம்பயி லிசை” எனச் சேக்கிழார் நாயனார் பெரியபுராணம் திருஞான சம்பந்தர் புராணம் 241 ம் பாடலிற் கூறியவாற்றானுமறிக.

தேவாரத்தில் வந்துள்ள பண்கள். 21.

தேவாரப்பண்கள் இருபத்து நான்கென்றும். இருபத்தேழென்றும், இருபத் தெட்டென்றுஞ் சிலர் கொள்கின்றனர். அங்ஙனங் கோடல் பொருந்தா தென்பதனைக் கீழ்வருமாற்றானுணர்க.

திருக்கழுமலம், திருத்தாளச்சதி, பண். வியாழக்குறிஞ்சி.
“பந்தத்தால்” என்னுந் திருப்பதிகக் கடைக்காப்பு.

“கஞ்சத்தே னுண்டிட்டே களித்துவண்டு சண்பகக்
கானே தேனே போராருங் கழுமல நகரிறையைத்
தஞ்சைச்சார் சண்பைக்கோன் சமைத்தநற்க லைத்துறை
தாமே போல்வார் தேனேரார் தமிழ்விர கனமொழிக

ளெஞ்சத்தேய் வின்றிக்கே யிமைத்திசைத் தமைத்தகொண்
டேழே யேழே நாலேமூன் றியலிசை யிசையியல்பா
வஞ்சத்தேய் வின்றிக்கே மனங்கொளப் பயிற்றுவோர்
மார்பே சேர்வாள் வானோர்சீர் மதிநுதல் மடவரலே.''

என்னுந் திருக்கடைக்காப்பில் "ஏழே யேழே நாலே மூன்றியலிசை'' எனத் திருஞானசம்பந்தமூர்த்தி நாயனாரே பண்க ளிருபத்தொன்றென்ற வரையறை செய்தருளி யிருத்தலாலும் இதற்கேற்பத் தொன்றுதொட்டுத் திருவாவடுதுறை யாதீனத்தும் இருபத்தொரு பண்களென்றே கொண்டு நாளதுவரை யோதப்பட்டுவரு மாட்சி யனுபவ முண்மையாலும் பண்க ளிருபத்தொன்றென்று கோடலே பொருத்தமாம். ஆயின் திருஞானசம்பந்தருந் திருநாவுக்கரசருஞ் செய்தருளிய திருப்பதிகங்களிற் செந்துருத்திப் பண் பதிகமில்லாதிருக்க, அவ்விருவர்க்குப் பின்வந்த சுந்தரமூர்த்தியே அப்பண்ணமைந்த "மீளாவடிமை'' என்னுந் திருப்பதிகஞ் செய்தருளினாராகலான் அச்சுந்தரர்க்கு முன்னிருந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தர் அச்செந்துருத்திப் பண்ணையுஞ்சேர்த்து "ஏழே யேழே நாலே மூன்று'' என்றெங்ஙன மிருபத்தொன்றாக வரையறுத்தாரெனில். அத்திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தாமோ திருநாவுக்கரசர் தாமோ செந்துருத்திப் பண்பதிகம் செய்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்; அப்பதிகம் இறந்துபோன பதிகங்களோடு சேர்ந்திருக்கலாமென்று ஊகிக்கத்தக்கதாகின்றது.

அன்றியும், "ஈரிரு பண்ணு மெழுமூன்று திறனு-மாகின்றனவிவை'' என்றாகலிற் பாலை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் செவ்வழி யென்னு நாற்பண்ணும் இருபத்தொன்றாகின்றன வென்னு மிசையிலக்கணத்தை யனுசரித்து அங்ஙன மிருபத்தொன்றெனத் தொகைகொண்டருளினா ரென்றலுமாம்.

பண்ணும் இராகமும் அத்துவிதமாயிருத்தலினாலேயே ஆதியிலிருந்த ஆன்றோர்கள் ஒவ்வொரு பண்ணுக்குமுள்ள இராகங்களைக்கண்டே யோதிவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். திருவாவடுதுறையாதீன ஏட்டுப்பிரதிகளில், "கொல்லம் 917 ௵ துன்முகி ௵ மாசிமீ 4௳ எழுதிமுடிந்தது'' என்று இறுதியிலெழுதியிருக்கும் ஒரு சித்தாந்த சாஸ்திர எட்டினோரிடத்திலே கண்டவை வருமாறு:—

பண்.	இராகம்.
1. புறநீர்மை	ஸ்ரீகண்டி
2. காந்தாரம், பியந்தைக்காந்தாரம்	இச்சிச்சி
3. கௌசிகம்	பயிரவி
4. இந்தளம், திருக்குறுந்தொகை ...	நௌிதபஞ்சமி
5. தக்கேசி	காம்போதி
6. நட்டராகம், சாதாரி ...	பந்துவராளி
7. நட்டபாடை	நாட்டைக்குறிஞ்சி
8. பழம்பஞ்சுரம்	சங்கராபரணம்
9. காந்தாரபஞ்சமம்	கேதாரகௌளை
10. பஞ்சமம்	ஆகிரி

இப்பத்தும் பகற்பண்க்ளாம். பகல் மூன்றுநாழிகையிலிருந்து மும்மூன்று நாழிகையாக ஒவ்வொரு பண்ணுக்கும் முறையே மேலேற்றிக் காலவரையறை கொள்க.

11.	தக்கராகம்	... ...	கன்னடகாம்போதி
12.	பழந்தக்கராகம்	... ...	சுத்தசாவேரி
13.	சீகாமரம்	... ...	நாதநாமக்கிரியை
14.	கொல்லி, கொல்லிக்கௌவாணம், திருநேரிசை, திருவிருத்தம்	...	ஸிந்துகந்நடா
15.	வியாழக்குறிஞ்சி	... ...	சௌராஷ்டிரம்
16.	மேகராகக்குறிஞ்சி	... ...	நீலாம்பரி
17.	குறிஞ்சி	... ...	மலகரி
18.	அந்தாளிக்குறிஞ்சி	...	ஸைலதேசாட்சி

இவ்வெட்டும் இராப்பண்களாம் இராமூன்றேமுக்கா ஞழிகையிலிருந்து மூன்றேமுக்கால் மூன்றேமுக்காஞழிகையாக ஒவ்வொரு பண்ணுக்கும் முறையே மேலேற்றிக் காலவரையறை கொள்க.

19.	செவ்வழி	... ...	எதுகுலகாம்போதி
20.	செந்துருத்தி	... ...	மத்தியமாவதி
21.	திருத்தாண்டகம்	... ...	பியாகடை

இம்மூன்றும் பொதுப்பண்களாம். பகலிராவில் எக்காலமும் பொதுவாக வுரியன வாகையாற் பொதுப்பண்களாயின.

இராக சுரங்கள்.

ஸ்ரீகண்டி — ஸ க ம ப த நி ஸ - ஸ நி த ப ம க ஸ

ஸிந்துகந்நடா—ம க ம ரி க ம ப ஸ - ஸ நி த ப ம க ரி ஸ

ச - ரி - அம் - க - ச - த - கை - நி

ஸைலதேசாட்சி—ஸ ரி க ம ப ம த நி ஸ - ஸ நி ப ம க ம ரி ஸ

ஷ - ரி - அம் - கா - ஸா - த - கா - நி.

இவையே முன்சொன்ன எட்டினேரிடத்திற் கண்டவை. பிங்கலநிகண்டு முதலிய சில நூல்களிற்கண்ட சில பண்களின்,

பரியாய நாமங்கள்.

புறநீர்மைக்கு நேர்திறமென்பதும், காந்தாரத்துக்குச் சாரலென்பதும், இந்தளத்துக்கு வடுகென்பதும், தக்கேசிக்கு நவிரென்பதும், சாதாரிக்கு முல்லையென்பதும், நட்டபாடைக்கு நைவளமென்பதும், பழம்பஞ்சுரத்துக்குப் பஞ்சுரம் செருந்தியென்பனவும், காந்தாரபஞ்சமத்துக்கு உறழ்ப்பு நாட்டமென்பனவும், பஞ்சமத்துக்கு

அயிர்ப்பென்பதும், கொல்லிக்கௌவாணத்துக்குப் படுமலையென்பதும், திருவிருத்தத்துக்குப் பாலையாழென்பதும் குறிஞ்சிக்கு அரற்றென்பதும், செந்துருத்திக்குச் செந்திறமென்பதும் பரியாயநாமங்களாகப் பிங்கலநிகண்டுமுதலிய சிலநூல்களிற் காணப்படுகின்றன.

காந்தாரபஞ்சமத்துக்கன்றித் திருநேரிசைக்கும் நாட்டம் என்னும் பெயர் காணப்படுகின்றது.

திருவாய்மொழியில் வியந்தம், பாலையாழ், நாட்டம், செருந்தி, முதிர்ந்தகுறிஞ்சி, கைசிகம் முதலாகச் சில பண்களுள்ளன.

திருக்குறுந்தொகை, ஈரடி, திருவிராகம், திருமுக்கால், யாழ்முறி, திருத்தாளச் சதியாதியாகச் சொல்லப்படுவன வெல்லாம் பண்ணால்வந்தபெயர்களல்லனவாம்; பாவிகற்பத்தானும் பிரகாரணங்களானும் வந்த பெயர்களாம்.

செவ்வழிப்பண்ணமைந்த திருப்பதிகங்கள் திருஞானசம்பந்த நாயனாரொருவரேயருளிய அம்மட்டிலுள்ளன. செந்துருத்திப் பண்ணமைந்த திருப்பதிகம் சுந்தரமூர்த்தி நாயனாரொருவரேயருளிய அம்மட்டிலுள்ளது. அதுவும் "மீளாவடிமையுமக்கே" என்னும் திருவாரூர்த் திருப்பதிகமொன்றே திருத்தாண்டகம் திருநேரிசை திருவிருத்தம் திருக்குறுந்தொகையாகிய இவையமைந்த திருப்பதிகங்கள் திருநாவுக்கரசுநாயனா ரொருவரேயருளிய அம்மட்டிலுள்ளன.

யாழ்முறிப்பதிகமாகிய "மாதர் மடப்பிடியும்" என்பது மேகராகக் குறிஞ்சியிலும்; திருத்தாளச்சதிப்பதிகமாகிய "பந்தத்தால் வந்தெப்பால்" என்பது வியாழக் குறிஞ்சியிலும் அடங்கும். திருவிராகமென்பது இந்தளம் சாதாரி நட்டபாடையென்னு மிவையமைந்த திருப்பதிகங்களிலே சில முடுகிசையாயுள்ளனவற்றிற்குப் பெயராகிவருகின்றது; அஃது ஒரு பண் அன்று. இராகம் என்பது அராகமெனவும் வரும்.

"அராகஞ் செந்திறமே பாலை யாழ்முடு கிசைபாட்டாசை" என்பது நிகண்டாகலின் இராகம் என்பது முடுகிசையாம்.

பண்களோதுதற்குரிய காலவரையறை இசைநூல்களிற் சொல்லப்பட்டுள்ளனவோ வென்னில்; திருவாவடுதுறை யாதீனத்துந் தருமபுரவாதீனத்தும் ஓதுவாமூர்த்திகள் ஓதிவந்த ஆட்சியே காலவரையறை கோடற்குக் காரணமென்பதும், அவ்வாட்சி பற்றியே இறந்துபோன இசைநூல்களிற் காலவரையறை சொல்லப்பட்டிருத்தல் வேண்டுமென்பதும் கொள்ளக்கிடக்கும். இது பின்வருமாற்றால் விளங்கும்

"பாடல் பயிலும் பணிமொழி தன்பணைத்தோள்
கூட லவாவாற் குறிப்புணர்த்தும்—ஆடவற்கு
மென்றீந் தொடையாழின் மெல்லவே தைவந்தாள்
இன்றீங் குறிஞ்சி இசை"

என்று நுட்பவணிக்கு மேற்கோளாகத் தண்டியலங்காரத்திலே எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்ட இச்செய்யுட் பழையவுரையுள் "இங்கே குறிஞ்சியிசையைப் பாடுதலாகிய தொழிலினாலே இடையாமத்திலே கூடுதற்கு நேர்ந்தாளென்பது அநுமானித்தறியப்படும். குறிஞ்சிக்குச் சிறுபொழுது இடையாமமெனவறிக" எனக் குறிஞ்சிப் பண்ணுக்குக் காலவரையறை இடையாமமெனக் காணப்படுகிறதற்கேற்ப முன் சொன்ன ஆதீனகர்த்தர்களாகிய மடாதிபதிகள் மார்கழிமாதத்தி லிடையாமத்தெழு

ந்து நித்யகர்மாநுட்டானங்களை முடித்துக்கொண்டு பூசாமடஞ்சென்று பூசிக்கும் அப்பூசாகாலத்திலேதான் குறிஞ்சிப்பண்ணேதுவதை ஓதுவாமூர்த்திகள் வழக்கமாகக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். பிறகாலத்தி லோதுவதில்லை.

பெரியபுராணம் ஏயர்கோன் கலிக்காமநாயனர் புராணம்.

அன்றுதிரு நோக்கொன்ரு லாரக்கண் டின்புற்ருர்
நின்றுநில மிசைவீழ்ந்து நெடிதுயிர்த்து நேரிறைஞ்சி
வன்ரெண்டர் திருவாரூர் மயங்குமாலையிற்புகுந்து
துன்றுசடைத் தூவாயார் தமைமுன்னந் தொழவணைந்தார். (302)

பொங்குதிருத் தொண்டருட னுள்ளணைந்து புக்கிறைஞ்சித்
துங்கவிசைத் திருப்பதிகந் தூவாயா வெனவெடுத்தே
யிங்கெமது துயர்களைந்து கண்காணக் காட்டாயென்
றங்கணர்த முன்னின்று பாடியருந் தமிழ்புனைந்தார். (303)

ஆறணியுஞ் சடையாரைத் தொழுதுபுறம் போந்தங்கண்
வேறிருந்து திருத்தொண்டர் விரவுவா ருடன்கூடி
யேறுயர்த்தார் திருமூலத் தானத்து ளிடைதெரிந்து
மாறிறிரு வத்தயா மத்திறைஞ்ச வந்தணைந்தார். (304)

ஆதிதிரு வன்பரெதி ரணையவவர் முகநோக்கிக்
கோதிலிசை யாற்குருகு பாயவெனக் கோத்தெடுத்தே
ஏதிலார் போல்வினவி யேசறவாற் றிருப்பதிகங்
காதல்புரி கைக்கிளையாற் பாடியே கலந்தணைவார். (305)

இந்நான்கு பாக்களில் 'வன்ரெண்டர் திருவாரூர் மயங்குமாலையிற்புகுந்து' "துங்கவிசைத் திருப்பதிகந் தூவாயாவெனவெடுத்தே" என்பவற்ருலும்; "அத்தயா மத்திறைஞ்ச வந்து" "குருகுபாயவெனக் கோத்தெடுத்தே" என்பவற்ருனும் முறையே பகல் 27 நாழிகை தொடங்கி 30 நாழிகை வரையுமாகிய மாலைக்காலத்திற்குரிய பஞ்சமப்பண்ணமைந்த திருப்பதிகமும்; இரா-$11\frac{1}{4}$ நாழிகை தொடங்கி 15 நாழிகைவரையுமாகிய அர்த்தயாமகாலத்திற்குரிய கொல்லிப்பண்ணமைந்த திருப்பதிகமு மாகின்றன. ஆகையால் தேவாரந் திருவாய்மலர்ந்தருளிய சமயாசாரியர்கள் தாம் ஒவ்வொரு தலத்துக்குஞ் சென்றருளிய காலம் எக்காலமோ அக்காலத்துக்குரிய பண்களையே பெரும்பாலு மமைத்துப் பாடினர்களென்பது பெறப்படுகின்றது. ஆகவே, பஞ்சமப்பண் கொல்லிப்பண்ணுகிய இவ்விரண்டு பண்களுங் காலநியமந் தவருமலே இந்நாள்வரையு|மோதுவா மூர்த்திகளால் ஆதீனங்களி லோதப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. ஓதுவாமூர்த்திக ளோதிவரும் பண்களில் குறிஞ்சி. பஞ்சமம். கொல்லி யென்னும் இம்மூவகைப்பண்களுக் கேற்பட்ட காலவரையறை மேற்காட்டியவற்றிற்கு ஒத்திருத்தலால் அவர்கள் ஏனைய பண்களுக்குக் கொண்டிருக்குங் காலவரையறையும் முன்னிருந்த இசைநூல்களுக்கு ஒத்ததென்றே கொள்ளத்தக்கது.

The Doctrine of Sphoṭa

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Three types of Monism in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads.

The doctrine of Sphoṭa is generally explained as the conception of one eternal śabda—sound as the ultimate reality of the world. This is otherwise known as the *śabdādvaita* or śabda-monism as some Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads would have it; they also mention two other conceptions of monism—sattā-monism and vijñāna-monism. The germs of sattā-monism and vijñāna-monism are fully developed[1] into two different schools of philosophy by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the stadtholder of the advaita philosophy and by Gautama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhistic philosopy respectively. The latter had the misfortune to impart his gospel to four disciples in whose hands four different unpopular schools of Buddhistic philosophy[2] developed.

Śabdādvaita in the Upaniṣads and in other works.

One popular explanation of the śabda-monism is found in the *oṅkāropāsti*[3] of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad. In other vedic texts[4] also are

1. Reference may be made here to Jayanta-bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjarī where we have an elucidation of the three schools of monism. [No. 10. Vijayanagaram Series. pages 531-538.]

2. The four schools of Buddhism are:—
   - (a) The Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda school;
   - (b) The Nihilistic or Mādhyamaka school;
   - (c) The Sautrāntika school; and
   - (d) The Vaibhāṣika school.

3. Compare Śri Śaṅkarācārya's remark—'nediṣṭhamidaṁ brahmaṇaḥ abhidhānaṁ yat Oṅkāraḥ iti'.

4. 'Praṇava evaikaḥ tridhā vyabhajyata;'

'nāmedam rūpatvena ca vṛttarūpam
  rūpam cedaṁ nāmabhāvena tasthe;
eke tadekamavibhaktaṁ vibhejuḥ
  prāgevānye bhedarūpaṁ vadanti."
'Vāgeva viśvā bhuvanāni jajñe
vāca it sarvamamṛtaṁ yacca martyam."
'Oṅkāro vai sarvā vāk'
'vācīmā viśvā bhuvanāyārpitā.'

found references to speech or śabda as the ultimate reality of the world. But it becomes systematised in the hands of the sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. They hold—'ehaḥ śabdaḥ suṣṭu jñataḥ samyak prayuktaḥ svarge loke kāmadhuk bhavati'.

Pāṇini's Conception of Sphoṭa

The correct explanation of śabdādvaita in the form of sphoṭa is not given by Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in their works—the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Vārtikas respectively; yet Pāṇini's very few sūtras like *'tad aśiṣyam saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt,'* embody the essence of the sphoṭa-doctrine. He believes that words have long been in existence and their continuous usage alone is the best authority (pramāṇa) for their correctness (sādhutva). What the Grammarians can do is to record the correct usage of the correct words in language, in a systematic way; similarly on questions of gender, case etc., of the words, Pāṇini says that the time-honoured convention (anādivyavahāra) alone is the final authority.[5] And it is in this sense that the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra is known as an *anvākhyānaśāstra*[6]—that which records and explains śabdas as they actually exist in usage.[7]

Kātyāyana's View of Śabdanityatva.

Kātyāyana's elucidation of śabda takes us nearer the sphoṭa doctrine. He does not, however, make mention of the word 'sphoṭa' but lays down in his famous Vārtika—'Siddhe śabdārthasambandhe lokato arthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamo yathā laukikavaidikeṣu'—the great principle that śabda is nitya, artha is nitya, and their relation viz. vācyavācakabhāva is nitya. This is the very fundamental of the sphoṭa doctrine.

5. Compare the vārtika—'liṅgamaśiṣyaṁ lokāśrayatvāt liṅgasya.'

6. In his Mahābhāṣyapradīpodyota (Page 5. N. S. Edition) Nāgeśa explains the unique character of the Mahābhāṣya as both a commentary and an original treatise—'vyākhyātṛtvepi asya iṣṭyādikathanena anvākhyātrtvāt itarabhāṣyavailakṣaṇyena mahatvam.'

7. Pāṇini's reference to the sage ṣphoṭāyana in the sūtras—'avaṅ ṣphoṭāyanasya,' etc., cannot be taken as fully establishing the view that the sphoṭa doctrine was founded by ṣphoṭāyana. The suggestion is only a conjecture in the absence of further materials.

Patañjali's Contribution to Sphoṭa.

Both Vyāḍi, the author of the Saṅgraha[8] and Patañjali,[9] the author of the Mahābhāṣya, have accepted the sphoṭa doctrine, as may be seen from the following passage in the Mahābhāṣya:—"atha gaurityatra kaḥ śabdaḥ? . . . . . yenoccāritena sāsnālāṅgūlakakudakhuraviṣāṇinam sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ." (Mahābhāṣya—Paspaśāhnika. N.S. Ed. Pages 12-16). That which is the seat of vācakatā is śabda, so maintain Patañjali and his followers,[10] and this establishes the eternity of śabda, viz., sphoṭa, the sonant substratum. Patañjali makes mention of the sphoṭa doctrine in the Pratyāhārāhnika[11] also. He distinguishes the sphoṭa śabda from dhvani in the following verse in his taparasūtrabhāṣya 1, 1, 68:—"Dhvaniḥ sphoṭaśca śabdānām dhvanistu khalu lakṣyate. Alpo mahāmśca keṣāñcit ubhayam tadviśeṣataḥ." (N. S. Ed. p. 517). Dhvani is produced by vibrations of air and it undergoes both modification and destruction. And this is not the real śabda. The cognitions or experiences of mahatva, alpatva, etc., in śabda are superimpositions (adhyāsas) of the properties of dhvani on śabda. The relation between dhvani and sphoṭa is the same as that between the prapañca and the Absolute, as explained by the Advaitins. Generally dhvani becomes the object of cognition or experience. The identity between dhvani and sphoṭa can be understood only by yogins who realise the Highest Reality—Brahman. This principle here enunciated by Patañjali, he himself says, is the theory of Pāṇini—'Sarve sarvapadādeśāḥ dākṣīputrasya Pāṇineḥ.' (N. S. Ed. page 263).

Later Authors before Bhartṛhari on the Sphoṭa.

Besides Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, other important śāstrakāras who flourished long before Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadīya, have mentioned this sphoṭa doctrine in their works and they

8. Nāgeśa in his Udyota (N. S. Edition p. 55.) remarks—'Śaṅgraho vyāḍikṛto lakṣaślokasaṅkhyo grandha iti prasiddhiḥ.' Also Puñjarāja in his commentary on Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya (Kāṇḍa II. verse 484. Benares Edition, page 283) says—'iha purā pāṇinīye asmin vyākaraṇe vyāḍyuparacitaṁ granthalakṣaparimāṇaṁ saṇgrābhidhānam nibandhanamāsīt.'

9. Patañjali is believed to be the incarnation of Ādiśeṣa and he is responsible for three works: (1) the Mahābhāṣya in Sanskrit Grammar, (2) Yogasūtras in the yoga system of Indian Philosophy, and (3) Carakasaṁhitā in Indian medicine. Compare Bhartṛhari's verse in his Vākyapadyīya, Kāṇḍa I. verse 148.

10. Kaiyaṭa in his Bhāṣyapradīpa (N. S. Ed. p. 16) explains the above bhāṣya as an elucidation of the sphoṭa śabda which is only manifested by dhvanis.

11. "athavā ubhayaḥ sphoṭamātraṁ nirdiśyate—raśruteḥ laśrutiḥ bhavati iti"—(N. S. Ed. page 107.).

A Critique of Śaṁkara's Rendering of *'Yeyam prete.'*

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When commentators differ about their interpretations one cannot stand silently by without offering some judgment on the conflict of views.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

The text: *Yeyam prete vicikitsā manuṣye*
Astītyeke nāyamastīti caike

of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* embodying the third boon of Naciketas has been differently interpreted by the famous Bhāṣyakāras. Śaṁkara[1] has it that the third boon relates to the question of the survival of the soul of man after death. Rāmānuja[2] rejects this view and refers the third boon to the problem of the nature of Final release—the persistence of personality in Salvation. Madhva[3] declares that the third boon is concerned with the question of God's Government of released souls. The Upaniṣad itself bestows the most casual attention on the after-life of the soul and is preeminently concerned with the nature of the Supreme Being. If any conclusion is possible from this, it can only be that the question of the survival of the soul after death was not regarded as the subject-matter of the third boon at all.

Rāmānuja and Madhva maintain that Naciketas *prima facie* would not and could not at all have entertained any doubts about the survival of the soul after death. To judge from Naciketas' own admonition to his father that those who bestow decrepit cows on Brahmins find their way to "joyless regions," it is clear that the boy believed

1. Prete mṛte manuṣye asti ityeke—asti śarīrendriyamanobuddhivyatrikto dehāntarasambandhyātmā ityeke. Nāyam evamvidho astīticaike. Śaṁkara on *Kaṭha,* i, 1, 20.
2. Yeyam prete iti na śarīraviyogamātrābhiprāyam kintu sarvagandhavinirmokṣābhiprāyam. *Śrībhāṣya* on 1, 2, 12.
3. Prete mukte manuṣye Niyāmakatvena Bhagavān asti iti jñānino vadanti. Nāstītyajñāḥ. Madhva on *Kaṭha,* 1, 1, 20.
4. Anandā nāma te lokāstān sa gacchati tā dadat.

in an after-life. His lofty remarks on the transience of human beings who "mature and die like corn and are born again like corn"[5] calculated to console his "repentent father"[6] would make no sense if he had had the least doubt about the survival of the human personality after death.

For his second boon again, as Rāmānuja points out, Naciketas chooses the science of a Sacrificial Fire which is the means of experiencing some fruit to be attained by a Soul that has left the body; and this choice could not be made by one who knows not that the Soul is different from the body and is sure to survive the body.[7] The point, in other words, is this. Naciketas asks for the *Agni Vidyā* which leads to Heaven (*Svargya*) and is evidently wanting *Svarga* for himelf even as admitted by Śaṁkara.[8] He knows too, that the denizens of Heaven attain immortality. It follows then that Naciketas was quite sure of the post-mortem existence of his Soul. For, otherwise, his second boon could not have been asked in the form in which we find it.

From another point of view also, Rāmānuja shows the inadequacy of Śaṁkara's interpretation of the third boon. The *Svarga* asked for in the second boon, says he, is nothing short of ultimate release[9] His reasons are that (1) this state is held to transcend births and deaths and (2) that since later on Naciketas resolutely rejects the tempting offers of the joys of wealth, women and eternal life as impermanent, he could not, on an earlier occasion, have asked for such an impermanent state of *Svarga*.[10] The impermanence of *Svarga* being a settled fact already in the Upaniṣadic literature,[11] the term *amṛtatva* in the text, with reference to the second boon, would not logically fit in with such an impermanent state. Śaṁkara makes an attempt to explain away the term *amṛtatva* here, as "devatva" but is not consistent. In another place in the *Kaṭha* he renders '*amṛtatva*' as limited immortality,[12] but in every other place in the *Kaṭha* the term has been ren-

5. Sasyamiva martyaḥ pacyate sasyamivājāyate punaḥ.
6. Kim mayoktam iti śokāviṣṭam āha pitaram. Śaṁkara on *Kaṭha* 1, 1, 6.
7. Dvitīyena vareṇa uttīrṇadehātmānubhāvya phalasādhanabhutā agni vidyā vṛtā tadapi dehātriktātmānabhijñasya na sambhavati—

Rāmānuja *Śrībhāṣya* 1, 2, 12.

8. Mahyam Svargārthine—Śaṁkara on *Kaṭha* 1, 1, 13.
9. Svarga śabdenātra paramapuruṣārthalakṣanamokṣo abhidīyate—*Śrī Bhāṣya* 1, 4, 5.
10. Tatrasthasya ca janmamaraṇābhāva śravaṇāt. Uttaratra ca Kṣayiphala-karmanindādarśanāt—Śrī Bhāṣya i, 4, 5.
11. Nākasya pṛṣṭhe Sukṛtenubhūtvā imam lokam hīnataram vā Viśanti. Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad 1, 2, 10.
12. āpekṣikam (*Kaṭha* 2, 3. 16).

dered by him into Final release.[13] On grounds of consistency, therefore, Rāmānuja finds it his duty to interpret the term *amṛtatva* as Final release everywhere. Naciketas, then, would not have asked for Final release in the *second* boon if he was not assured of the Soul's post-mortem existence. It is highly improbable, therefore, to suppose that he yet queried about the Survival of the Soul after death in the *third* boon.

The survival of the Soul is also clearly taught by Yama in *Kaṭha* 1, 1, 18—"One who performs the Naciketas fire-sacrifice, casts off all bonds of death and rejoices in Heaven-World."[14] Even the latent doubts, if any, of Naciketas must have vanished after so clear a statement. Would it not then be disingenuous to expect him to ask a question about the survival of the Self immediately after Yama stopped his harangue, in 1, 1, 20?

The body of texts called *Upaniṣads* occupy a logical place in the history of Vedic Literature and Philosophy. According to received historical estimates, the Upaniṣads mark a definite advance on the *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa* portions in that they represent the *Jñāna Kāṇḍa*. The entire edifice of the *Karma Kāṇḍa* of the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas* is built upon a tacit admission of the distinction of the Soul from the body and its survival after death. The fruits of Heaven held out in the texts of the *Karma Kāṇḍa* such as *Jyotiṣṭomena yajeta Svargakāmaḥ* would lose all meaning in the absence of such a recognition. Such a postulate must clearly be assumed in the case of *Jñāna Kāṇḍa* of the Upaniṣads, their Ātman-Brahman equations *et hoc*. A genetic view of the nature of contents and place of the Upaniṣads in Vedic Literature would easily show that the question of the survival of the human personality after death is a *res judicata* therein. It is admitted, on all hands, that the Vedic Seers, in spite of their polytheism and nature worship, had a firm faith and conviction in after-life. The Upaniṣads which represent a further advance on the speculations of the Vedic age could not, therefore, have raised such a question. One can understand such a question being asked with a view to adduce scientific proof and logical demonstration of the Survival of the Self. But, in the case of the *Kaṭha* no such attempt is traceable.[15] The ques-

13. *cf. Kaṭha* 2, 1, 1; 2, 1, 2; 2, 2, 8; 2, 3, 1; 2, 3, 14.

14. Sa mṛtyu pāśān purataḥ praṇodya Śokātigo modate Svargaloke.

15. Anent the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan opines: "The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* is later still. We find in it elements of the Sāṁkhya and Yoga Systems. *It quotes freely from the other upaniṣads and from the Gītā.*" (p. 18 *Philosophy* of the *Upaniṣads*). The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls and of the Survival of the Soul after death being unquestionably recognised in the earlier upaniṣads and elaborately established in the Gītā, it would appear quite superfluous for the *Kaṭha* to take it up again for treatment.

tion of the Survival of the Soul, supposed to be raised in i, 1, 20 and ii, 2, 4, receives a very wooden answer in ii, 2, 6 and we hear no more of the 'problem'!

The term '*prete*' in the text '*Yeyam prete*' does not necessarily refer to the physical death of quotidian occurrence with which we are all familiar. Pra+itaḥ=prakarṣeṇa itaḥ : : pretaḥ would as well fit in with ultimate release from the cycle of Samsāra. One need not look askance at such an interpretation as a piece of hairsplitting etymology. We have a classical instance of the root ī with *pra* used in the sense of ultimate release in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* where Yājñavalkya is held to have declared the truth of there being no consciousness in Mokṣa: *Na pretya saṁjñā asti.*[16] And Śaṁkara rightly interprets this as referring to Final release: *Na tatra pretya viśeṣa saṁjñā asti— kāryakaraṇa saṁghātebhyo vimuktasya.*[17] And Ānandagiri clarifies it: *Tatreti kaivalyoktiḥ.*[18]

Internal textual evidence too, supports the contention that *Yeyam prete* has reference only to the state of Final release. For, the same question is paraphrased and repeated in II, 2, 4:—

Asya Visramsamānasya Śarīrasthasya dehinaḥ

Dehād vimucyamānasya Kimatra pariśiṣyate.

where either of the two terms *Visramsamāna* or *Vimucyamāna,* if referring to mere death, would be redundant. *Visramsamāna* refers, admittedly, to mere death while *vi+mucyamāna* could better be taken to mean complete release from bondage.[19] We are therefore left unconvinced by Śaṁkara's special pleading that *Vimucyamāna* is the same as *Visramsamāna* writ otherwise.[20]

On Śaṁkara's view that the third boon concerns the question of the Soul's post-mortem existence, textual inconsistency is bound to arise. For, the *Kaṭha* itself in i, 2, 14, correlates the third boon with

16. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* iv, 5, 13.

17. Śaṁkara's comm., on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* Ibid.

18. Ānandagiri's sub. comm., Ibid.

19. Dehād viśeṣeṇa mocanam nāma Muktireva . Sthūladehaparityāgastu Visramsamānasyetyanenaiva ukto bhavati. Madhva, *Kāṭhaka Bhāṣya, Sarvamūla,* p. 648.

20. Visramsamāna śabdārthamāha: dehādvimucyamānasyeti—Śaṁkara, *Kāṭhaka Bhāṣya* ii. 2, 4.

the nature of the Supreme Being. However inconvenient it may be, Śaṁkara has to admit that *'Anyatra dharmāt . . . .'* (i, 2, 14) raises a question with reference to the Supreme Being.[21] Now, this makes *four* questions in all and not *three*. But, the *Kaṭha* itself clearly states that Naciketas asked for *three* boons and three alone. It must be admitted therefore that *'Anyatra dharmāt . . . .'* is a continuation of the subject-matter of the third boon itself and constitutes no new query. The text *'Anyatra dharmāt'* referring admittedly to the Supreme Being, it follows that *'Yeyam prete'* too, must refer to the same subject and not to the Individual Self. It is necessary that of the two texts *'Yeyam prete . . . .'* and *'Anyatra dharmāt . . . .'* one must be made to lose its surface interpretation if the aforesaid numerical contradiction is to be avoided. One cannot stick to the surface interpretations of both and yet explain the numerical contradiction. When it comes to a question of one of the texts losing its surface interpretation *'Yeyam prete . . . .'* will have to be subordinated to *'Anyatra dharmāt'* both because of the superiority of the *upsamhāra* (conclusion) over the *upakrama* (initial statement) as well as of the principle of precedence being given to the Superior (*abhyarhitam pūrvam*). The subject of the Supreme Being is easily superior to that of the Individual; and hence *'Anyatra dharmāt'* takes the lead and has a right to determine what *'Yeyam prete'* must mean. The application of the contrary method of *upkrama parākrama* would not be of any avail to Śaṁkara since he too, would hardly think of subordinating *'Anyatra dharmāt'* referring to the Supreme to *'Yeyam prete'*—a text confined admittedly to the Individual.

Fully alive to the difficulty in adopting the principle of textual subordination to explain the numerical contradiction, Śaṁkara presses into service the dual aspect theory of the Self. His argument in essence is that the contradiction could be removed if we posit that the texts *'Yeyam prete . . . .'* and *'Anyatra dharmāt . . . .'* deal with two different but not mutually exclusive aspects of the same Self:[22] the one with its embodied aspect and the other with its transcendental. But, even this ingenious device of a two-aspect theory fails to save him. In spite of all his laborious explanations the numerical contra-

21. Yadīdṛśam Vastu Sarvavyavahāra gocarātītam paśyasi tad vada. (Śaṁkara on *Kaṭha* 1, 2, 14).

cf. also: Anyatra dharmāt iti paramātma Viṣayaḥ—Śaṁkara on *Vedānta Sūtra* 1, 4, 6.

22. Tasmāt 'Yeyam prete' ityasyaiva praśnasya anukarṣaṇam etat 'anyatra dharmāt' iti; yattu praśnacchāyāvailakṣaṇyam uktam tadadūṣaṇam. Tadīyasyaiva Viśeṣasya punaḥ pṛcchyamānatvāt. Śaṁkara Bhāṣya on *Vedānta Sūtra* 1, 4, 6.

diction asserts itself once again. Śaṁkara makes out that the question '*Yeyam prete* . . . .' deals with the general features of the Individual as fundamentally distinct from the body whilst '*Anyatra dharmāt*' takes up the special problem of that Self's identity with the Supreme,[23] which fact is, for the nonce, clouded by a foundational Nescience. On Śaṁkara's own showing, then, '*Yeyam prete* . . . .' and '*Anyatra dharmāt* . . . .' *constitute only one question.* Added to the *Agni-vidyā,* the subject of the second boon, there will only be *two* questions and one more is wanting to make up the number three insisted upon in the text of the Upaniṣad[24] and by the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras!*[25] The ingenious device of the dual-aspect theory ultimately lands Śaṁkara in a blind alley. Not only that. It also suffers from a schematic fallacy. There is more of passion than reason in the methodological device of the dual-aspect theory set up by Śaṁkara. For, if the text '*Yeyam prete* . . . .' deals with the embodied aspect of the Self and '*Anyatra dharmāt* . . . .' is meant to 'take up' its transcendental aspect, we should expect to find the discussion of the former aspect closed and answer to the first question given before launching into the latter problem—the Transcendental aspect of the Self. But, as a matter of fact, we do not find the first question answered and the matter clinched until we come to ii, 2, 7 while the topic of the Transcendental Self is taken up as early as i, 2, 14, i.e., *as many as forty-nine verses earlier.* Surely, Naciketas would not have sprung a new question, albeit concerning another 'aspect' of the Self, on Yama while his first question about the embodied Soul still remained unanswered!

DID NACIKETAS DIE?

Madhva, in his criticism of Śaṁkara's interpretation of '*Yeyam prete* . . . .', opines that the doubt as to the survival or otherwise of the human Soul after death would simply not arise in the case of Naciketas who had himself died consequent on his father's curse.[26]

23. Pūrvatra hi dehādivyatiriktasya ātmano astitvam Pṛṣṭam. Uttaratra tu tasyaiva asamsāritvam pṛcchyata iti. Yāvadhyavidyā na nivartate tāvaddharmādigocaratvam jīvasya, jīvatam ca na nivartate. Tannivṛttau tu prājña eva—Op., cit.

24. Trīn varān vṛṇīṣva.

25. Trayāṇāmevacaivamupanyāsaḥ praśnaśca i, 4, 6.

26. Na ca mṛtvā yamam prāptasya Naciketaso mṛto 'asti naveti samśayo Yujyate. Madhva understands Uddālaka's angry retort: 'To death I give thee' as tantamount to a curse that he should die. Mṛtyave tvā dadāmi-Mriyasveti: Rāghavendra Tīrtha's *Khaṇḍārtha.* The soundness of this view is borne out by a statement in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* which contains a parallel version to our story, that "when the boy stood up, a Voice said unto him . . . . . ."

Madhva's assumption that Naciketas died and left his material body before proceeding to Yama is confirmed by the boy's request in the form of the first boon that his father shall "recognise him as his own son" and greet him when he returned to him. If the boy had not died in any sense, but had simply undertaken an excursion into the regions of Yama, corporeally intact, there would have been no conceivable difficulty for his father to have "recognised" his son! Śaṁkara himself fully endorses the view that the boy was anxious to be "recognised" by his father "as his own son":—*Pratītāḥ labdha smṛtiḥ Sa evāyam putraḥ mamāgata ityevam pratyabhijānan ityarthaḥ.* If the boy returned to his father in his own person, the latter could not possibly take any time to "recollect" (*labdha smṛtiḥ*) and "recognise" him. Could the father have forgotten his own son within the lapse of three days?

On the other hand, there is strong external evidence in support of Madhva's contention that (1) the boy Naciketas *died* actually before he went to Yama; (2) that the doubt as to the post-mortem existence of the Soul could not have arisen in his case; and (3) that therefore, the text '*Yeyam prete* . . . .' does not refer to the survival of the Self but to the far more transcendental problem of Final release. The story of Naciketas occurs in another version in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Black Yajur Veda* which, as translated by Max Müller, runs :—

Vājaśravasa, wishing for reward, sacrificed all his wealth. He had a son called Naciketas. While he was still a boy, Faith entered him at a time when the cows that were to be given as presents to the priests were brought in. He said, "Father, to whom wilt thou give me?" He said so a second and a third time. But the father turned round and said to him, "To Death I give thee."

Then a Voice said unto young Gautama as he stood up. [27] "He said, 'Go away to the house of Death. To Death I give thee.' Go, therefore, to Death when he is not at home, and dwell in his house for three nights without eating. If he should ask thee, boy, how many nights hast thou been here, say three. When he asks thee: what didst thou eat the first night, say, thy offspring. What didst thou eat the second night? say, thy cattle. What didst thou eat the third night? say, thy good works."

He went to Death while he was away from home and dwelt in his house for three nights without eating. When death returned and asked, "Boy, how many nights hast thou been here?" He answered: Three.

"What didst thou eat the first night?"

"Thy offspring."

"What didst thou eat the second night?"

"Thy cattle."

"What didst thou eat the third night?"

"Thy good works."

Then he said, "My respects to thee, Venerable Sir, choose a boon."

"May I return living to my Father?"[28] he said.

"Choose a second boon!"

"Tell me how my good works may never perish."

Then he explained to him the Naciketas Fire and hence his good works do not perish.

"Choose a third boon!"

"Tell me the conquest of Re-Death."[29]

Then he explained to him this Naciketas Fire[30] and *he conquered Re-Death.* (Italics mine.)

The foregoing account clearly states that Naciketas' first boon was that *he may return living to his father.* Mark the term *Jīvan,* which means but one thing: that the boy died once, was conscious of it and wants to regain a material body. From his own experience, then, Naciketas would have certainly realised that human souls *do survive* after death and could not have entertained the least doubt about it. Still more significant is the third boon which he asks for: "*the conquest of Re-Death.*" The term *'punar-mṛtyu'* is not mere death but complete annihilation of the cycle of births and deaths, i.e., to say ultimate release or Mokṣa.[31] This shows that the third boon asked for did not

27. This evidently means that a *Voice* from on high addressed his spirit as it rose from the body.

28. Pitarameva Jīvan ayāni iti. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.*

29. *Punar mṛtyorme apacitim brūhīti hovāca.*

30. The reference to the Naciketas Fire (Vide *Svargyāgni*) in connection with the Second and Third boons also lends weight to Rāmānuja's contention that the Agni Vidyā of the Second boon does not refer to some sort of ordinary Fire Sacrifice leading to the *papular Svarga* but to the Agni Vidyā leading to *Mokṣa.*

31. Sāyaṇa clearly endorses this view. *Janma svīkāram vinā muktau satyām Soyam punar mṛtyurapakṣīyate* Sāyaṇa's Comm., on *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III, 11, 8.

relate to physical death or the Survival of the Self after death. In any case, *conquest of* Re-Death assumes firm conviction in the *Survival of the Conqueror after the event.* Cogito ergo sum. The terms *preta, maraṇam prāpya, maraṇam mānuprākṣīḥ,* etc., would thus automatically resolve themselves into Final release even as indicated by the terms *Mahati sāmparāye, dehāt Vimucyamāna* and *punarmṛtyorapaciti.* Thus, the *Taittrīya Brāhmaṇa* fully endorses the contention of Rāmānuja and Madhva that Naciketas, by his third boon, asked for instruction on the nature of Final release. In the light of which Śaṁkara's confinement of the third boon to the question of the post-mortem existence of the Soul turns out to be erroneous.

There can be no two opinions that in interpreting the ancient texts of the Upaniṣads, it is always safe and sound to rely on the help and guidance afforded by the Vedic Literature itself. Even the orthodox Vedāntins have always entertained a genuine suspicion for the *āpāta pratīti* or surface-interpretation of texts, and have always insisted on the employment of the six canons of interpretation *upakrama, upasaṁhāra,* etc., while the Mīmāṁsakas have emphasised the supreme value of *Samākhyā* or parallel texts in support of any given interpretation.

The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* is believed to have originally belonged to the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* of the *Black Yajur Veda* and the occurrence of another version of the story of Naciketas in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* makes it probable that the Upaniṣad itself, representing, *qua* Upaniṣad, a later literary stratum than a well-known *Brāhmaṇa* of its own original Saṁhitā, is presumably indebted to that *Brāhmaṇa* for the episode in question; in which case, the latter's interpretation in the light of its original and parallel version in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* would be the only legitimate manner of approach. Even supposing that the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* it is that represents the later version, the fact still remains that its evidence, in so far as it furnishes the earliest commentary on the Naciketas episode, must be superior to that of a latter-day commentator like Śaṁkara.

University Notes.

Pro-Chancellor.—The Hon'ble Rajah Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar, LL.D., Kt., of Chettinad, the Founder and Pro-Chancellor of this University, has recently had the distinction of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the Madras University. It is a fitting tribute to one who has done so much for the cause of Education in South India and has perpetuated his name by founding the Annamalai University which is called after him. We felicitate the Pro-Chancellor on this new distinction.

Vice-Chancellor.—Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, M.A., I.E.S., Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, on the expiry of his term of office, has been re-appointed for a further period of three years. The University is indeed to congratulate itself upon retaining the services of such an eminent and distinguished educationalist. Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan has been at the head of the administration since its inception and the successful running of this new University is largely due to his untiring efforts on its behalf. We congratulate him on his reappointment and we congratulate ourselves no less.

New Courses.—Two new courses have been instituted this year:

A four-year course in the theory and practice of Music leading to the Diploma of Sangitha Bhushana, and a one-year course of training to Pandits leading to the Pandits' Training Certificate.

University Special Lectures.—Dr. W. Blaschke, Director of the Mathematische Seminar, Hamburg University, delivered a course of two lectures on "Integral and Topological questions of Differential Geometry" in February 1932.

Mrs. F. M. B. Rosenthall, F.R.C.S., A.R.C.M., of the Nizam Educational Service, delivered a lecture on "Goethe and His Masterpiece 'Faust'" in February 1932, on the occasion of the Goethe Centenary Celebration.

The Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, delivered a lecture on "Was Conjeevaram always a Pallava capital?" in March 1932.

Congress and Conferences.—The Vice-Chancellor attended the annual meeting of the Inter-University Board, held at Lahore in March 1932.

Mr. L. K. Govindarajulu Naidu, B.A., B.L., Director of Physical Education, was deputed to attend the Physical Education section of the Provincial Teachers' Conference held at Madura in May 1932. He read a paper on "Some problems of Physical Culture."

Endowments.—The Hon'ble Rajah of Chettinad has given a sum of Rs. 25,000 to be added to the permanent Endowment Fund of the University besides a free gift of 168 acres of land.

Research Students 1930-1932: History.—Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M.A., "History of Sri Vaishnavism in the Tamil country."

Economics.—Mr. A. R. Kuppuswamy, B.A. (Hons.), "Co-operative Movement in South Arcot."

Mathematics.—Mr. P. Ganapathi B.A. (Hons.), "Differential Geometry."

Physics.—Mr. G. Sivaramakrishnan, B.A. (Hons.), "The Magnetic Susceptibilities of Polar Liquids."

Sanskrit.—Mr. D. Subrahmanyan, B.A. (Hons.), "Transport in Ancient India."

Chemistry.—Mr. A. Venkatasubban, B.A., "Synthetical and Analytical Experiments on Alkaloids and Chemical Investigation of some of the Indian Medicinal Plants."

1932-1933: Economics.—Mr. C. V. Sundararaman, B.A. (Hons.), "Land Revenue administration in South Arcot."

Mathematics.—Mr. S. Venkatachari, B.A. (Hons.), "Mathematical Economics."

Tamil.—Mr. N. K. Srinivasan, B.A., "The History of Tamil Literature from A.D. 1100—1400."

Sanskrit.—Mr. R. Ramakrishnan, B.A. (Hons.), "A Critical Study of the *Vakyapadiya*."

Research Grants.—Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, Lecturer in Physics, was deputed for advanced study and research work in Spectroscopy under

the guidance of Dr. A. L. Narayanan at the Kodaikanal Observatory. Mr. G. V. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Reader in Mathematics, also completed his research work in Astronomy under Dr. Royds.

Dr. M. O. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., the Librarian of the University, who went to England to take a course in Librarianship, has returned and taken up his duty after his successful completion of the Diploma Course of Librarianship in the University of London.

Improvements.—The departments of Chemistry, Botany and Zoology have been further extended and equipped to meet the growing demand for teaching in these subjects. The Physics Department has already been enlarged to facilitate the carrying on of Honours work and higher research.

Bibliographical Notes.

A.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA*

A recent publication throwing light on this little known topic forms No. 6 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and is a thesis submitted to the University of Bombay, for the degree of Master of Arts, in March, 1929. The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., the enthusiastic and indefatigable Director of the Institute, has put forth a fairly rapid succession of historical monographs embodying the research work of his scholars, including this and the previous publication of the *Kadamba Kula* by Mr. G. M. Moraes, M.A. Mr. C. J. Shah, the author of the present monograph, is a Gujarati Jain and has rightly limited his treatment of the subject to the tracing of the fortunes of Jainism in North India till the epoch of the Council of Valabhi, in A.D. 526, which drew up the final list of canonical works and brought the unrecorded period of Jaina history to an end, the inscriptions referring to the Jaina community becoming numerous from the 6th century onwards. He does not take into his treatment the institutional and doctrinal development of that religion, nor the profound part played by it in the political, religious and literary development of South India or in the Deccan. His estimation of the Jaina contribution in the cultural and religious life of the country is naturally generous and perhaps a little bit over-valued. But it is the natural reaction that a long period of neglect of Jaina contributions to India, broken only by occasional glimpses into them rendered possible by the labours of scholars like Colebrooke, Bühler, Hoernle, Jacobi, J. Charpentier and others, should result in the new wave of enthusiastic research of which this work is a good illustration.

The historicity of Pārśvanātha is attempted to be proved by means of indirect references drawn from inscriptions and monuments and by a reference to Nātaputta's system in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta,* interpreted by Jacobi as referring to the term *Cāturyāma,* as distinguished from *Mahāvīra's Pāñcyāma.* Dr. Guerinot declares, in his *Bibliographie*

*By Chimanlal J. Shah, M.A., with a Foreword by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.—Longmans Green & Co., 1932. pp. xxiv and 292.

Jaina, that there can no longer be any doubt that Pārśvanātha was a historical personage; while Dr. Jacobi says that the last perceptible point in the prehistorical development of Jainism is Parsva, before whom all is hidden in the midst of fable and fiction.

Coming down to Mahāvīra and his times, the author tries to explain away the legend of the Jina taking the form of an embryo, in the womb of a Brahman lady and the transfer of the embryo to the Kshatriyāṇi Triśalā, in the light of the dogmatic canonical assertion that a Brahman can be everything but a Tīrthaṅkara. The date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is a highly controversial point. Jacobi maintained that this event took place about 480 B.C., some years before the Buddha's death. Swetambara tradition would date the event in 527 B.C., and the Digambaras would date it 18 years later. Proceeding on the basis of historical data merely, like the traditional date of Bhadrabāhu's death, his connection with Chandragupta Maurya and the connection of Suhastin with Samprati and on the assumption that a precise date for the accession of Chandragupta is still impossible, he would arrive at *cir* 480-467 B.C., as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and maintain that this would not bring any contradictions into play; while the choice of an earlier date would disregard some real historical facts and coincidences of the Jain annals. But he is careful enough to add that these years define only the limits of possible hypotheses in this very slippery ground of conjectures and probabilities. The author devotes an amount of space to the elaboration of the ideas of *ahimsa* and *syādvāda* in the third section of Chapter II; and he supplements this with a treatment of the most important schisms of the Jaina church, like those of the seven *Ninhagas* of whom the most important was Mankaliputta Gosala who was a self-styled *Jina* or *Tirthaṅkara*.. Mr. Shah tries to rebut the conclusion of Dr. Barua, regarding the priority of Gosala's *Jinahood* and the association of Mahāvīra with the Ajivikas. The detected attempt to chisel away the word '*Ājīvikehi*' in the cave inscriptions in the Barabar and Nāgārjuni Hills is attributed to the Jaina King, Kharavēla of Kalinga. It is also pointed out how, in many inscriptions after the 6th century A.D., the term Ājīvika is used for the Digambara sect which was developed by the traditions of Bhadrabāhu of the great famine and of Jīnacandra and Śivabhūti of *cir* A.D. 80. The germs of the schism existed even in the infancy of the faith; and Mr. Shah is inclined to accept Sir Charles Eliot's conclusion that the Swētambaras "may represent an older sect reformed or exaggerated by Mahāvīra." The rise of the *Sthānakavāsi* sect of the Jainas which was to a large extent a direct result of Muhammadan influence is also noticed. The explanation of the still continuing vitality of the Jain Church given at the end of the second chap-

ter is sufficient and satisfactory; but one cannot agree fully with the statement that an adamantine conservatism has been the strongest safeguard of the Jaina faith.

The importance of Magadha in the light of early Jaina history is stressed; and we are definitely told that Bimbisara, the Saisunāga, was definitely a follower of Nātaputta and his doctrines, "whatever may be the claims of the Buddhists about him." The Jaina account of Bimbisara's death is given to show that the Jainas were in the good books of Kunika, about whom the *Aupapātika,* the first *upāṅga* of their canonical literature, as well as the *Bhagavatī,* the *Uvāsaga-Dasāo,* the *Antagaḍa Dasāo* and other works have references. Jaina tradition also exempts Udāyin from the crime of parricide with which he is charged by the *Mahāvaṁsa.* Mr. Shah maintains that Hemachandra did not confuse Nandivardhana with Mahāpadma Nanda and identifies the Nandaraja of the Khāravela Inscription of Hāthigumphā was only Nanda I of the Jainas (or the Mahāpadma Nanda of the Puranas). He examines at length the Jaina tradition about Chanakya's revolution and Chandragupta Maurya and concludes that the date of Bhadra-Bāhu's *Nirvāṇa* exactly coincides with that of Chandragupta (*cir* 297 B.C.); while arguing that the Asokan *Dharma* contains nothing particularly Buddhistic and the edicts of the Emperor do not, *ipso facto,* mean that he was or had become a Buddhist, he says that the term 'Śramaṇa,' occurring in the edicts, distinctly refers to Jaina ascetics as well as Bauddha monks and when Asoka referred to Buddhists alone, he always used the word *Saṁgha.* The first Swētambara contact with South India was established by Samprati; and the great schism is connected both with the migration of Bhadrabāhu and with the Suhastin-Mahāgiri tradition.

A full chapter is devoted by our writer to Jainism in the time of Khāravela of Kalinga who is stated to be the contemporary of Sri Sātakarṇi and Demetrios and of Bahasati-Mitra, here equated with Pushyamitra Sunga. Khāravela is stated to have attacked Magadha twice, in the second of which he recovered the image of the Jīna of Kalinga which had been carried off by Nanda Raja. The reference in the inscription to Yāpa professors is explained as well as the term *Nīshidi,* which denotes an ornamental tomb of a saint. Mr. Shah claims Vikramāditya of Ujjain, successor of Gardabhilla, as a great Jaina patron and maintains that the Mathura Inscription of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa was dated in the Vikrama era, agreeing with Dr. Sten Konow. But the Kushāṇa inscriptions ranging from Śaṁvat 4 to 98 are dated A.D. 82-176. These inscriptions are shown to be important as disclosing particular aspects of the Jain church and also serving as

land-marks in the history of the Northern Jainas, during the epoch of Indo-Scythian rule. Two Gupta records at Mathura and in the Udayagiri Cave and the Kahāum Stone Pillar Inscription are discussed as throwing light on Jainism in the Gupta age. The tradition of *Kuvalayamāla* tells us of Āçārya Harigupta of Sri Torarāya who is equated with Toramāna, the Hūṇādhipaṭi.

Harigupta and his pupil Devagupta are shown to belong to the Gupta royal family; and the coins of one, Harigupta, are, according to Allan, of the 5th century A.C. The suggestion is also made by Mr. Shah that it may be possible to identify Devagupta of the Jaina tradition with the Malwa ruler of that name mentioned in the *Harshacarita*. The two chapters at the end deal with Jaina literature and art. The former includes a survey of Swētambara literature, both canonical and non-canonical; and the latter is devoted to an account of the Jaina caves in Orissa, and in Girnar and the sculptural remains and mounds near Mathura. Mr. Shah is rightly cautious about disclaiming a special Jaina style of architecture and sculpture; but perceives a strange mixture of Greek and Indian elements not only in the Mathura sculptures, but also in the friezes of the Udayagiri caves. He devotes special attention to the description of the sculptural tablets, known as *Āyāgapatas* which were a prominent feature of ancient Jaina art. The bibliographical, illustrative and other equipment of the book is sumptuous and, perhaps a little bit, overdone. The typographical and other excellences call for special mention and illustrate the thoroughness characteristic of Father Heras and his school.

C. S. S.

B

RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA*

The Political History of Ancient India is now out in its third edition. It was first written in 1923, with a view to present an authentic chronological history of ancient India, the scope taking in the little-known and less-cared-for pre-Bimbisaran epoch which has been stretched back to the age of Parikshit and forms part I of the book. The II part brings the narrative down to the last days of Gupta Imperialism in the 6th century A.C. and the beginning of the 7th. The last book of the *Atharva-Veda,* the more ancient of the *Brahmana* books and the classical *Upanishads* have been made use of; and our author rightly holds the balance even between the views of Pargiter which would give excessive value to Kshatriya tradition whose date allowed of manipulation to serve dynastic ends and the value of Vedic tradition whose two strong points are its priority of date and freedom from textual corruption. His sequential treatment of the Kurus and the Vaidēhas and their contemporary states is followed by a notice of the political condition of the Deccan in the time of the later Vaidēhas, in the course of which he says that it might be that the name Mūchīpas became transformed into Mūshikas. The political history of the period between the fall of the Videhan monarchy and the rise of Anga, Kosala, Kasi and Magadha is based on the Puranic lists and Jain and Buddhist sources; and it is supplemented with an account of monarchy and its principal varieties, its household, civil and military services and the checks on its authority.

The second part of Dr. Raychadhuri's book—the Post-Bimbisaran History—is marked by a detailed and critical examination of the causes of the dismemberment of the Mauryan Empire and by views, different from the generally accepted ones, regarding the history and chronology of the Early Śātavāhanas, the Indo-Greeks and the Saka-Pahlavas. He rejects completely the theory of a Brahmanical revolution as the main

**Political History of Ancient India, from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty,* by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University (Third edition, revised and enlarged)—published by the University of Calcutta, 1932. pp. xix and 469.

The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediæval Period)—with a Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett—by Dr. H. C. Ray, Lecturer in History and Sanskrit, Calcutta University—Vol. I—published by the University of Calcutta, 1931. pp. xl and 663.

cause of the Mauryan dismemberment which had really begun long before the raids of the Bactrians. He holds that Simukha should come after the Kanvas and Kharavela could not be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga, contrary to the views of Mr. Jayaswal, Rapson and others. The prevalence of Naga rule over a greater part of Northern and Central India in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. is noticed in some detail; and the history of the later Guptas is as clear as can be desired. Among the Appendices, there is a useful note on the chronological relations of Kanishka and Rudradaman I, in which he tries to refute the contention that Rudradaman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvira between 130 and 150 A.D. does not imply control over Sui Vihar and Multan and consequently Kanishka's sovereignty over Sui Vihar in the year 11 of an era starting from A.D. 128-129, is not irreconcilable with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvira at the same time. Another note examines the causes of the decline of the earlier Guptas; and the Appendices are all additions to this edition. The chronological list of the Trans-Vindhyan Kingdoms, Peoples and Dynasties and the synchronistic tables are highly valuable; and the bibliographical index helps ready reference.

A natural supplement to Dr. Raychaudhuri's book is the publication of Dr. H. C. Ray, which is the first of two volumes devoted to the dynastic history of Northern India during the period of transition between the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihara Empire of Kanauj and the Muslim conquest under Muhammad Ghūri and his slave-generals. This dynastic history is proposed to be supplemented by a third volume devoted to the treatment of minor dynasties, administrative, economic and social history, the origin of the Rajputs and the causes of Hindu decline. This volume is well-equipped with comprehensive bibliographical lists for each chapter, and clear and carefully-drawn maps for the history of each dynasty and a synchronistic table in the end. Dr. Ray is at some pains to prove that A.D. 647 being regarded as the beginning of a steady decline is not correct, that there was no general decline in everything from the close of the Harshan epoch, that the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire of Kanauj rivalled that of the Guptas and was more extensive than that of the Puṣpabhūtis and that the line between the ancient and mediæval periods is best drawn about 916 A.D. when the Pratīhāra Empire began to break to pieces. The incidents of the three centuries that elapsed between 916 A.D. and the establishment of the Indo-Moslem Empire at Delhi under Kutbu'd-din deserve to be studied in great detail and with reference to the evidence of archæology and more reliable Hindu chronicles some of which have been recently discovered. Also, Dr. Ray would maintain that a critical study of these three centuries would enable the reader to grasp some of the forces

that vitally influenced Hindu society and to estimate, aright, the indebtedness of Turkish and Afghan administration to its Hindu predecessor.

Taking up the history of Sind first, Dr. Ray stresses on the part played by the Gurjaras in stemming the tide of Arab and Muslim expansion and on the barrenness of the region in serving as a political force or as a centre of missionary enterprise. From the 11th century the Arab was definitely replaced by the Turk as the dominant power in the lower Indus Valley whose fortune is traced down to the epoch of Akbar's conquest in 1591. In the second chapter, the fortunes of the obscure Shahis and the steps which gradually brought Islam into the Kabul valley are traced. The Turki Shahiyas and their successors, the Hindu Shahiyas, are shown in their unenviable position, pressed by formidable enemies; and Kallār, the Brahman founder of the Hindu Shahiya line, is identified with Kalhana's Lalliya Sahi. Dr. Ray shows how, in his campaign of 1008 A.D., Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna had not to confront a confederacy as is held by Ferishta, but merely encountered Anandapal. Trilochanpal, the son of Anandapal, made heroic efforts, even after a decisive defeat, to regain his kingdom. The Shahis remained a factor in the Kashmirian court, long after their kingdom was extinguished.

The author has made the fullest possible use of Kalhana (who finished his work in A.D. 1149-50) for the vigorous period of Kashmir history. The tracing of the decadence of the Hindu power till its extinction in 1339 is relatively thin and does not require any elaboration. In the construction of Nepal history from the time of Amsuvarman, much ingenuity has been displayed, particularly in the explanation of the references to Nānyadeva's conquest of the land and the consequent revolution in the political power of the Thākuris. The detailed history of the Nepal Valley is brought down to 1480. The history of Assam and of the Palas and the Senas is perhaps overfull; and the account of each important king is supplemented by a notice of his epigraphs. It is clearly brought out how the Gahadvalas of Kanauj faced the Senas in Magadha after the disappearance of the Palas. The history of Orissa, in its different dynasties like the Banjas, the Sulkis, etc., that of the Gahadvalas of Kanauj and the relations between the latter and the Rashtrakutas of Panchala close the present volume which ends with a notice of the later Gurjara-Pratīhāras. In such a diffuse and detailed treatment, it naturally so happens that we forget the wood in the trees. But for sober and critical scholarship and interpretation the treatment of Dr. Ray is hard *to beat.*

C. S. S.

Annamalai University Sanskrit Series: No. I

SRĪ MUKUNDAMĀLĀ

WITH

TĀTPARYADĪPIKA

OF

RĀGHAVĀNANDA

K. R. PISHAROTI.

मुकुन्दमाला ।

यत्प्रसादलवलाभतः परां सिद्धिमेति मलिनोऽपि मानवः ।
यत्प्रसादविधुरोऽपि बद्ध्यते बुद्धिमाञ्छरणमेमि तं हरिम् ॥

इह खल्वखिललोकपरिपालनपरस्य कमलावल्लभस्येव भूमण्डलसंरक्षणसमग्रशक्तिमत्तयाऽम्भोरुहसम्भवस्येव भारतीविलासविभवभूमितया कात्यायनीकान्तस्येव कंसमथनचरणकमलपाथोधरमूर्धतया कश्चनावतारः केरळचक्रवाळचक्रवर्ती सादराराधितगुरुवरकरुणाकटाक्षवीक्षणक्षपितकल्मषधिषणतयाऽक्षमार्गावतीर्णवेदान्तार्णवमध्याद्योतमानमीमांसाऽनन्तशायिभगवदात्मतत्वः कथं नामास्मात् संसारसागरादत्यल्पबुद्धिशक्तिमतामपि प्राणिनां निस्तारस्स्यादिति परमकृपाकुलहृदयः,

" न साधयति मां धर्मो न सांख्यं योग उद्धव ! ।
न स्वाध्यायस्तपस्त्यागो यथा भक्तिश्शमोर्जिता ॥
धर्मस्सत्यदयोपेतो विद्या वा तपसाऽन्विता ।
मद्भक्त्यपेतमात्मानं न सम्यक् प्रपुनाति हि ॥
नाहं वेदैर्न्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्य एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा " ॥ इति

भगवद्भक्तिरहितानां स्वस्ववर्णाश्रमविहितधर्मानुष्ठातॄणामपि ब्रह्मसाक्षात्काररूपपरमपुरुषप्राप्त्यभावश्रवणात्,

" भक्त्याऽहमेकया ग्राह्यश्श्रद्धयाऽत्मा प्रियस्सताम् ।
भक्तिः पुनाति मन्निष्ठा सकामानपि सम्भवान् ॥
केवलेन विभावेन गोप्यो गावो नगा मृगाः ।
येऽन्ये मूढधियो नागाः स्निग्धा मामापुरञ्जसा ॥

यत्र सांख्येन योगेन दानव्रततपोऽध्वरैः ।
व्याख्यास्वाध्यायसन्यासैः प्राप्नुयाद्यत्नवानपि ॥
भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ! ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परन्तप ! ॥ इति

इहजन्मन्युक्तधर्मादिसाधनविकलानामपि भक्तिमतां तन्माहात्म्यादेव पुमर्थावाप्तिश्रवणाच्चानौपाधिकी भक्तिरेव मुक्तिसाधिकेति सैवाभ्यर्थनीया मुमुक्षुभिरित्यतस्तदुपायत्वेन श्रीनारदानुगृहीतमौकुन्दाष्टादशाक्षरं मन्त्रं मुकुन्दचरणशब्दाभ्यां प्रत्यभिज्ञापनया [अत्र] प्रमाणयन् मुकुन्दमालाख्यं स्तोत्ररत्नमकरोत् ।

तस्यास्य स्तोत्ररत्नस्य व्याख्यां शक्त्यनुरोधतः ।
करिष्याम्यात्मशुध्यर्थं नाम्ना तात्पर्यदीपिकाम् ॥

तत्र तावदहमस्मीत्यनुभवादस्मि वा नास्मि वाऽहमिति सन्देहस्य नैवाहमस्मीति विपर्ययस्य चात्मनि कस्यचित् कदाचित् कुत्रचिदप्यनुदयादसम्भवाच्च निश्चितसद्भाव आत्मा ; ततोऽन्यस्मिन् सर्वस्मिन् सर्वदा सत्वानुभवसत्तासन्देहानुदयतद्विपर्ययप्रत्ययानुदयानामभावादनिश्चितसत्ताक[रूप]मित्यात्मसत्ताधीनैव सत्ता । तथाच 'सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसी' दिति श्रुतौ आत्मैव सदित्युच्यते, तच्च 'तदैक्षते' ति वाक्यशेषेण स्पष्टीकृतं, चेतनादन्यस्येक्षितृत्वासम्भवात्तथा साक्षात्प्रेमास्पदस्य लोके आनन्दत्वप्रसिद्धेरात्मनश्च परप्रेमास्पदत्वानुभवात्, 'आत्मनस्तु कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति, तदेतत् प्रेयः पुत्रात् प्रेयो वित्तात् प्रेयोऽन्यस्मात् सर्वस्मादन्तरतर' मिति श्रुतेः, अन्यशेषित्वे सति स्वसत्तायामनन्यशेषत्वरूपसुखलक्षणलक्षितत्वादात्ममात्रावशेषसुप्तोत्थितपुरुषसुखपरामर्शलिंगायातसौषुप्तसुखानुभवाच्चात्मन आनन्दस्वरूपत्वम् । यद्यपि वैषयिकानन्दस्य साक्षात् प्रेमास्पदत्वं प्रसिद्धं तथापि तस्य स्वरूपतो न प्रियत्वं, परसुखे तददर्शनात् ; किन्तु आत्मार्थतया । आत्मा तु स्वरूपेणैव प्रियः, महाव्याध्यादिभिः स्वातिदुःखकरत्वे देहादावपि देहिनामुपेक्षादर्शनात् । नन्वात्मनोऽपि स्वरूपेण न प्रियत्वं शत्रौ प्रीत्यभावादिति चेत्, न । आत्मनोऽन्यस्यानात्मत्वात्, स्वस्य स्वयंविरोधित्वानुपपत्तेश्च, शत्रुमित्रादिबुद्धेर्देहादिमात्रनिष्ठत्वात् ; अत आत्मन एव स्वतः प्रेमास्पदत्वं न वैषयिकानन्दस्येति परमानन्दरूप आत्मा । 'तथाच आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात् ; एतस्यैवानन्दस्यान्यानि भूतानि मात्रामुपजीवन्ती 'त्यादौ पूर्णानन्दत्वे-

नात्मैव प्रतिपाद्यते । एवं सर्वविधिनिषेधसाक्षित्वात् स्वयमनन्यसाक्षित्वाच्च स्वप्रकाशचिद्रूप आत्मा । तथाच 'तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति । अत्रायं पुरुषस्स्वयंयज्ज्योति[र्ज्योति]र्भवत्यात्मैवास्य ज्योति' रित्यादौ स्वयंप्रकाशचित्त्वेनात्मैवोपदिश्यते । एवं च परमार्थतस्सच्चिदात्मकं विश्वोत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारकारणं ब्रह्मैवात्मा, न तत्कार्यं तदंशो वा, 'अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, क्षेत्रज्ञञ्चापि मां विद्धि' इत्यादिश्रुतिस्मृतिवाक्यात्; जीवाः परमात्मनस्तत्वतो न भिद्यन्ते, आत्मत्वात्, परमात्मवत्; विपर्ययेऽन्यतरस्यानात्मत्वप्रसंग इत्यनुमानाच्च । तथाप्यनुभूयमानत्वादात्मवदपलापानर्हमद्वितीये द्वैतस्यासम्भावितत्वात् 'मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतमद्वैतं परमार्थत' इति श्रवणाच्च माहेन्द्रजालवन्मायामात्रसिद्धं स्तोतृस्तुत्यस्तुतिभेदमादाय स्तोतुमुपक्रमते—

मुकुन्द! मूर्ध्ना प्रणिपत्य याचे
भवन्तमेकान्तमियन्तमर्थम् ।
अविस्मृतिस्त्वच्चरणारविन्दे
भवे भवे मेऽस्तु भवत्प्रसादात् ॥ १ ॥

मुकुन्देति ॥ यथाह साम्बः—"स्तोता स्तुत्यं स्तुतिरिति भवान् कर्तृकर्मक्रियात्मा क्रीडत्येक" इति, 'त्वां स्तोष्यामि स्तुतिभिरिति मे यस्तु भेदग्रहोऽयं सैवाविद्ये' ति च ।

"बद्धो मुक्त इति व्याख्या गुणतो मे न वस्तुतः ।
गुणस्य मायामूलत्वान्न मे मोक्षो न बन्धनम्" ॥

इति भागवतवाक्यात् बन्धवन्मायामात्रसिद्धस्य मोक्षस्य मायामयादेव स्तोतृस्तुत्यस्तुतिभेदव्यवहारादुपपत्तेर्नात्राभिमतफलसिद्ध्यभावचोद्यावकाशोऽपि । तच्च साम्बोनोक्तम्—'वेद्योपायः पर इति बुधैर्गीयते खल्वविद्ये' ति । सर्वमन्यदनित्याशुचिदुःखात्मतया परित्यज्य नित्यशुद्धनिरतिशयानन्दलक्षणं स्वपादारविन्दमेव शरणीकृत्य स्थितानां तत्सौभाग्यातिशययोगात्तत्सेवामात्रपरितुष्टानां च पुरुषधौरेयाणां स्वस्वाभाव्यान्निश्शेषदुःखनिवृत्तिनिरतिशयानन्दावाप्तिलक्षणां मुक्तिं ददातीति **मुकुन्दः** । हे **मुकुन्द,** अहं भवन्तं मुमुक्षुजनेप्सिततमं सर्वभूतात्मानं सर्वेश्वरञ्च, **मूर्ध्ना** साष्टाङ्गपातं **प्रणिपत्य** श्रद्धाभक्तिपुरस्सरं नत्वा **एकान्तं** नियतं प्रयोजनान्तरनिमित्तं न भवति, **इयन्त**मेतावन्मात्रं न पुन-

स्स्वर्गापवर्गादि । यद्वा—**इयन्तं** परिमितं न, अपरिमितरूपनिर्वाणं उदबिन्दुमात्रमिवाम्भोधिं मीनपोतकः, **अर्थं** प्रयोजनं पुरुषार्थं वा धर्मादीनां बहुदुःखसाध्यसाधनायत्तत्वादनित्यत्वाद-नात्मत्वाच्चासुखानां न पुरुषार्थत्वम् । भगवद्भक्तेर्निस्तरङ्गतच्चरित्रपीयूषपारावारविहरणतन्त्रा-मामृतास्वादनतद्विग्रहरसायनपानपरमनिर्वृतिप्रवाहमयत्वात् सर्वभूतात्मनि तस्मिन् नित्यनिरतिशयप्रीतिप्रसरमात्रपरमार्थत्वेनास्यास्तत्साक्षाद्बोधशिरस्कत्वमिति मुक्तेरेतन्नान्तरी-यफलत्वाच्च मुख्यपुरुषार्थत्वमित्याशयः । याचतेर्द्विकर्मकत्वात् भवन्तमर्थमित्युपदेशः । **याचे** प्रार्थये; कोऽसावर्थो यन्त्वं याचसे इत्याह—**मे** मम, **भवे भवे** जन्मनि जन्मनि, **त्वच्चरणार-विन्दे** तव चरणमेव यदरविन्दं तस्मिन्विषये । **अविस्मृतिः** विस्मृतिर्विस्मरणं तदभावः स्मृतिप्रमोषाभावः । अथवा विस्मरणविरोधिनी अविस्मृतिः स्मृतिः । यद्वा विस्पष्टा स्मृतिः विस्मृतिः स्मृतित्वेन प्रसिद्धं ज्ञानं तस्या अन्या अनुभूतिरविस्मृतिः । **अस्त्विति** प्रार्थनायां लोट् । त्वत्कर्तृका स्मृतिः किमिति मत्तः प्रार्थ्यत इत्यत उक्तं—**भवत्प्रसादादिति** । भवतोऽन्तर्यामित्वान्न त्वत्प्रसादेन विना स्मृतिश्शक्यक्रियेत्याशयः । तदुक्तम् 'नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाऽच्युते' ति । चरणानुस्मरणस्यैव प्रार्थनीयत्वं न मुक्तेरिति **मुकुन्देति** सम्बोधनेन सूचितम् । भक्तानां मुक्त्यव(त्त्युप)पादनस्वभावं भवन्तं प्रति न मुक्ति-रभ्यर्थनीया किन्तु भक्तिमात्रमिति भावः । भजनीयस्य भगवतः सर्वभूतात्मत्वं सर्वेश्वरत्वं च मुकुन्दपदादेव व्यञ्जितम्, अनात्मनोऽनीश्वरस्य वा परमपुरुषार्थप्रदत्वासम्भवात् । **चरणार-विन्द**इत्येकवचनं चरणयोस्तत्वंपदार्थमात्रपरमार्थयोर्वस्तुतो भेदाभावमुद्भावयति चरणं पवित्रमितिवत् । **मुकुन्दे**ति छेदेनास्य स्तोत्रस्य मूलभूते मन्त्रराजे **मुकुन्द**शब्दस्य चरणशब्देन षष्ठीसमासभ्रमोऽपास्तः । **भवे भवे** इति तत्रत्यस्सदाशब्दो व्याख्यातः । अविस्मृतिरस्त्वि-त्यंशेन तद्गतं **प्रपद्ये** पदं विवृतम् । **चरणा**वितिपदप्रतिपदं चरणारविन्दे इति । ॥ १ ॥

ननु तव मुमुक्षुत्वे भक्तिर्मोक्षाय भविष्यतीति तत्प्रार्थनातुबुभुक्षुत्वे । नरकपात-दुःखपरिहरणेन स्वर्गसुखप्राप्तये स्यादिति । तत् कथमेकान्तार्थत्वमस्या इत्याशङ्क्याह—

नाहं वन्दे तव चरणयोर्द्वन्द्वमद्वन्द्वहेतोः
कुम्भीपाकं गुरुमपि हरे! नारकं नापनेतुम् ।
रम्या रामा मृदुतनुलता नन्दने नाभिरन्तुं
भावे भावे हृदयभवने भावयेयं भवन्तम् ॥ २ ॥

नाहमिति । अहं ब्रह्मास्मीतिवाक्यीयबुद्धिवृत्त्यभिव्यक्तः स्वाध्यस्तमज्ञानतत्कार्यात्मकं द्वैतजातं हरतीति—**हरिः** । **हे हरे! अहं तव चरणयोर्द्वन्द्वञ्चरणद्वयं,** **अद्वन्द्वहेतोर्**निखिलद्वैतोपशमरूपं मोक्षं प्रयोजनीकृत्य **न वन्दे** । त्वत्कथासुधास्वादसुखविरोधित्वेनास्यानपेक्षितत्वात् । यथोक्तं श्रुतिगीतासु—

"दुरवगमात्मकत्वनिगमाय तवात्ततनोश्चरितमहामृताब्धिपरिवर्तपरिश्रमणाः ।
न परिलषन्ति केचिदपवर्गमपीश्वर! ते चरणसरोजहंसकुलसंगविसृष्टगृहाः" ॥

इति । **नारकं** नरके भवं, **गुरुं** अपर्यन्तदुःखहेतुं **कुम्भीपाकं** कुम्भ्यां ताम्रायसमये कुम्भे पापिनो निक्षिप्य महता दहनेन यः पाकस्तमपनेतुमपि **न वन्दे** । भक्तानां भजनविघातस्यैव दुःखत्वात् । सनकादिवाक्यतस्तदवगन्तव्यम्—'कामं भवस्स्ववृजिनैर्न्निरयेषु न स्ताच्चेतोऽळिवद्यदि हि ते पदयो रमेते' ति । नन्दयत्यानन्दयति सुकृतिन इति **नन्दने** नन्दनोद्याने । **रम्या** रमणीयाकारा मृदुतनुलता मृद्वी सुखस्पर्शा तनुलता यासां ता **रामा** उर्वशीमेनकाद्या **अभिरन्तुम**नुभवितुमपि **न वन्दे** । क्षणिकत्वदुःखसम्भिन्नत्वसातिशयत्वादिदोषानुषङ्गात् स्वर्गसुखस्यास्पृहणीयत्वमिति भावः । तदुक्तं भागवतपुराणे—

"एवं लोकं परं विद्यान्नश्वरं कर्मनिर्मितम् ।
अतुल्यातिशयध्वंसि यथा मण्डलवर्तिनाम्" ॥

इति । किमर्थं तर्हि वन्दस इत्याह-**भावे भावे** जन्मनि जन्मनि **हृदयभवने** हृत्पुण्डरीकमध्ये आत्माभेदेनेति यावत् । **भवन्तं** शुद्धसत्वमूर्तिं **भावयेयं** ध्यायेयम् ॥ २ ॥

भवतु भक्तेर्भोगमोक्षार्थत्वाभावादैकान्तिकत्वम् , तथापि पुरुषार्थत्वाद्धर्मार्थकामा अपि प्रार्थनीया इती'**यन्तमर्थं याच**' इत्ययुक्तमित्याशङ्क्याह—

नास्था धर्मे न वसुनिचये नैव कामोपभोगे
यद्यद्भव्यं भवतु भगवन्! पूर्वकर्मानुरूपम् ।
एतत् प्रार्थ्यं मम बहुमतञ्जन्मजन्मान्तरेऽपि
त्वत्पादाम्भोरुहयुगगता निश्चला भक्तिरस्तु ॥ ३ ॥

नास्थेति ।

"उत्पत्तिं च विनाशं च भूतानामागतिं गतिम् ।
वेत्ति विद्यामविद्यां च स वाच्यो भगवानिति" ॥

हे **भगवन्** मम धर्मे शुभसंस्कारात्मनि **नैवास्था** अर्थना, तत्फले स्वर्गसुखेऽपेक्षाभावात् कर्मफले नरकदुःखे द्वेषाभावाच्च । तथापि स्वधर्मनिष्ठाऽभ्यर्थनीया; नो चेत् स्वेच्छाचारित्वेन भगवद्भजनभंगप्रसङ्गात्—इति चेन्न ।

"त्यक्त्वा स्वधर्मं चरणाम्बुजं हरेर्भजन्नपक्कोऽथ पतेत्ततो यदि।
यत्र क्व वाऽभद्रमभूदमुष्य किं को वाऽर्थ आप्तो भजता स्वधर्मतः" ॥

इति पुराणवाक्याद्धर्मनिष्ठाया भक्तिं प्रत्यप्रयोजकत्वप्रतीतेः । ननु तद्वाक्यादेव भक्तिं प्रति प्रयोजकत्वमपि धर्मनिष्ठायाः प्रतीयते ।

"धर्मस्स्वनुष्ठितः पुंसा विष्वक्सेनकथासु यः ।
नोत्पादयेद्यदि रतिं श्रम एव हि केवलम् ॥
अतः पुम्भिर्द्विजश्रेष्ठा ! वर्णाश्रमविभागशः ।
स्वनुष्ठितस्य धर्मस्य संसिद्धिर्हरितोषणम् ॥
दानव्रततपोहोमजपस्वाध्यायसंयमैः ।
श्रेयोविधिभिरन्यैश्च कृष्णे भक्तिर्हि साध्यते" ॥

इति । श्रुतिश्च–'तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेने' ति । उदितं च विश्वसाक्षिणा कृष्णेन कृष्णायाकृष्णात्मने शरणमुपगताय—

"यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥
यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदन्ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः" ॥

इति ॥

"श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः" ॥

इति च। तस्मात् भक्तिकामेन वर्णाश्रमधर्मो न त्याज्यः प्रत्युतानुष्ठेय एवेति चेत्—तन्मन्दम्। उक्तवचनानां भक्तिबहिरङ्गसाधनतत्परत्वात् 'त्यक्त्वा स्वधर्मं चरणाम्बुजं हरेर्भज'न्निति वाक्यस्य तदन्तरङ्गसाधनविधायकत्वाच्च; "सत्यानृते सुखदुःखे वेदानिमं लोकममुञ्च परित्यज्यात्मानमन्विच्छे" दित्यादिवत्। बहिरङ्गसाधनपरत्वं च तेषां तन्मुखादेवावगन्तव्यम्। विष्वक्सेनकथासु रतिं नोत्पादयेच्चेत् स्वनुष्ठितोऽपि धर्मः श्रम एव। वेदानुवचनादीनां तमेवं विविदषन्तीत्यादिरूपत्वात् सहस्रसंवत्सरसत्रदीक्षितानां शौनकादीनां मुनीनां पृथक् भगवच्चरितश्रवणप्रवृत्तिरपि कर्मणां भक्तिबहिरङ्गसाधनत्वमवगमयति। अत एव गीतान्तेऽर्जुनाय कृष्णभट्टारकेणोपदिष्टम्—

"सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः"॥

इति। भागवते चोद्धवाय।

"तस्मात्त्वमुद्धवोत्सृज्य चोदनां प्रतिचोदनाम्।
प्रवृत्तिञ्च निवृत्तिञ्च श्रोतव्यं श्रुतमेव च॥
मामेकमेव शरणमात्मानं सर्वदेहिनाम्।
या हि सर्वात्मभावेन यास्यसे ह्यकुतोभयम्॥

इति।

"यदृच्छया मत्कथादौ जातश्रद्धस्तु यः पुमान्।
न निर्विण्णो नातिसक्तो भक्तियोगोऽस्य सिद्धिदः"॥

इत्युक्त्वा

"तावत्कर्माणि कुर्वीत न निर्विद्येत यावता।
मत्कथाश्रवणादौ वा श्रद्धा यावन्न जायते"॥

इति चोपदिष्टम्। तथापि आश्रमधर्मनिष्ठा भक्तेनाभ्यर्थनीयेति चेन्न। आश्रमान्तरस्थानां जनकादीनामनाश्रमिणां विदुरादीनां दुराचाराणां गोपिकादीनां धर्मव्याधादीनां च कृष्णभक्तिश्रवणात्;

" यो भवेत् पूर्वसन्यांसी तुल्यो वै धर्मतो यदि ।
तस्मै प्रणामः कर्तव्यो नेतराय कदाचन " ॥

इति यतिधर्मेण

" विसृज्य स्वयमात्मस्थां दृशं व्रीलाश्च दैहिकीम् ।
प्रणमेद्दण्डवत् भूमावाश्वचण्डालगोखरम् " ॥

इति भागवतधर्मस्य विरोधाच्च ।

" यन्न सांख्येन योगेन दानव्रततपोऽध्वरैः ।
व्याख्यास्वाध्यायसन्यासैः प्राप्नुयाद्यत्नवानपि ॥
न ज्ञानान्न च वैराग्यात् प्रायः श्रेयो भवेदिह ।
श्रुतमप्यौपनिषदं दूरे हरिकथामृतात् ॥
यन्न सन्ति द्रवच्चित्तप्रेमाश्रुपुळकोत्सवाः " ॥

" नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न तपसा श्रुतेन ।
यमवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनुं स्वाम् ॥

" न वेदयज्ञाध्ययनैर्न दानैर्न च क्रियाभिर्न तपोभिरुग्रैः ।
एवंरूपः शक्य अहं नृलोके द्रष्टुं त्वदन्येन कुरुप्रवीर ! ॥
भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ! ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परन्तप ! ॥
तेषामेवानुकम्पार्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।
नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता " ॥

इति भक्तियोगराहित्ये वैराग्यसहितस्य ज्ञानयोगस्य वैफल्यश्रवणात्तत्साहित्ये साफल्यश्रवणाच्च भक्तियोग एव श्रेयान् । अत एव पुराणोपनिषदि

" स वै पुंसां परो धर्मो यतो भक्तिरधोक्षजे।
अहैतुक्यव्यवसिता ययाऽत्माऽऽशु प्रसीदति " ॥

इति निगदितम् । 'वर्णाश्रमविभागशः । स्वनुष्ठितस्य धर्मस्य संसिद्धिर्हरितोर्षण' मिति च । वक्ष्यति चात्र भागवतशिरोमणिस्स्वयमेव 'आम्नायाभ्यसनान्यरण्यरुदित' मित्यादि । तस्मात् भक्तेन भागवतधर्मा एवानुष्ठेयाः न वर्णाश्रमधर्माः, तेषां कचित् सतामपि साक्षात् भक्तिहेतुत्वाभावात् । भागवतधर्माश्च 'जिह्वे! कीर्त्तय केशव' मित्यादिना स्वयमुपदेक्ष्यन्ते । यत् पुनः स्वधर्मनिष्ठाभावे यथेष्टचेष्टाप्रसङ्गो भक्तजनस्येति तदसत् । स्वशब्देन भक्तोदीरणे वर्णाश्रमधर्माननुष्ठानेपि भगवच्चरितश्रवणकीर्तनादिधर्मानुष्ठानपरत्वे स्वेच्छाचारत्वाभावात्, अतत्परत्वे भक्तत्वासम्प्रतिपत्तेश्च; आश्रम्युदीरणे च तद्धर्मनिष्ठाभावो दोषायैव । को नामाऽन्यथा ब्रूते! । अथ ब्रूषे—

"आश्रमादाश्रमं गच्छेन्नान्यथा मत्परश्चरेत् ।
अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेत्तु दिनमेकमपि द्विजः ॥
आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः ।
अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेत द्विजः कस्याञ्चिदापदि ॥
यश्शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य वर्तते कामकारतः ।
न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥"

"नावेदविन्मनुते तं बृहन्तम् ॥"

इत्यादि वाक्यात्त्रैवर्णिकानामाश्रमित्वनियमात् भक्तैरपि ब्राह्मणादिभिस्स्वधर्मनिष्ठैर्भवितव्यमित्यनुचिता तदनास्थावाचोयुक्तिरिति । तदप्यचारु । वर्णाश्रमाभिमानिनां भक्तत्वासम्प्रतिपत्तेः । तथा च पूरणोपनिषत्—

"न यस्य जन्मकर्मभ्यां न वर्णाश्रमजातिभिः ।
सज्जतेऽस्मिन् अहंम्भावो देहे वै स हरेः प्रियः ॥"

इति । न च तत्र वर्णाश्रमाभिमानत्याग एव भक्तस्योक्तो न तत्कर्मलिंगत्याग इति वाच्यम् ।

"ज्ञाननिष्ठो विरक्तो वा मद्भक्तो वाऽनपेक्षकः ।
सलिंगानाश्रमांस्त्यक्त्वा चरेदविधिगोचरः ॥"

इति वाक्यान्तरविरोधात् । कुटीचकबहूदकहंसपरमहंसभेदेन चतुर्विधे तुर्याश्रमेऽन्त्यां पदवीमवलम्ब्य पूर्वलिङ्गधर्मत्याग एव तत्रोक्तो न सर्वत्याग इत्यप्ययुक्तम् ।

" बुद्धो बालकवत् क्रीडेत् कुशलो जडवच्चरेत् ।
वदेदुन्मत्तवद्विद्वान् गोचर्यान्नैगमश्चरेत् ॥ "

इत्युत्तरवाक्यविसंवादात् । न खलु परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मानुष्ठातृत्वं पशुबालकोन्मत्तजडवद्वर्ज्यावर्ज्यविवेकशून्यत्वनित्यकृतकृत्यत्वं स्वाद्वसादुभोगसमत्वलोकव्यवहारोदासीनत्वानि च निर्विवादमेकत्र वर्त्तितुमर्हन्ति । परमहंसपदादपि परिनिष्ठितभक्तिज्ञानवैराग्यभागवतोत्तमस्य ग्रहणे (तु) न विवादः । विदुषः कर्तव्यान्तराभावात्, भावे चाविद्वत्त्वात् । श्रूयते हि लैंगपुराणे—

" ज्ञानामृतेन तृप्तस्य त्यक्तसङ्गस्य योगिनः ।
कर्तव्यं नास्ति विप्रेन्द्राश्चास्ति चेन्न स तत्ववित् ॥ "

इति । श्रुतिश्च " क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे " इति ।
मगवद्गीता च—

" यदा ते मोहकलिलं बुद्धिर्व्यतितरिष्यति ।
तदा गन्तासि निर्वेदं श्रोतव्यस्य श्रुतस्य च ॥
एतद्बुध्वा बुद्धिमान् स्यात् कृतकृत्यश्च भारते ॥ "

इति । वर्णाश्रमाभिमानवतो देहात्माभिमानित्वावश्यंभावादज्ञत्वं च लैङ्गे श्रूयते—

" वर्णाश्रमाभिमानी यस्त्यक्त्वा ज्ञानं द्विजोत्तमः ।
अन्यत्र रमते मूढस्सोऽज्ञानी नात्र संशयः ॥ "

इति । यत् पुनः

" शौचमाचमनं स्नानं न तु चोदनयाऽचरेत् ।
अन्यांश्च नियमान् ज्ञानी यथाहं लीलयेऽश्वरः ॥ "

इति भागवतवाक्यान्तरम्, तत्र

"यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥"

इति स्मृतेस्तत्वज्ञोऽपि कश्चित् सद्धर्मपरिरक्षणार्थं पूर्ववदेव चरेच्चेत् न विहितबुद्धया धर्मं चरेन्नापि निषेधबुद्धया विधर्मं परिहरेदपि तु कृतकृत्यत्वाल्लीलयैव ।

"दोषबुद्धयोभयातीतो निषेधान्नातिवर्तते ।
गुणबुद्धया च विहितं न करोति यथार्भकः ॥"

इति वाक्यान्तरादित्युच्यते ; न पुनस्तत्वज्ञेनाप्यवश्यं स्वधर्मोऽनुष्ठेय इति ; तस्येश्वरवद्विधि-किङ्करत्वाभावात् । यत्तु कश्चिदाह—विदुषः कर्तव्यान्तराभावेपि पूर्वाभ्याससंस्कारात् प्रागिवाऽऽदेहपातं स्वधर्मनिष्ठानिश्चय इति । तन्मन्दम् ; स्वधर्मशब्दात् भागवतधर्म-ग्रहणाङ्गीकारात् । यथोक्तम्—

"आत्मारामाश्च मुनयो (निर्ग्रन्था ?) अप्युरुक्रमे ।
कुर्वन्त्यहैतुकीं भक्तिमित्थंभूतगुणो हरिः ॥"

इति । 'विवेषयन्मा धिषणा जानजस्तवै पुरा पार्यादिन्द्रमह्न' इति च श्रुतिः । वर्णाश्रमधर्मपरिग्रहे

"सिद्धयोगफलो योगी लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।
भोगान् भुक्त्वा यथाकामं विहरन् वाऽत्र वर्तताम् ॥"

इति श्रीवायवीयपुराणवाक्यव्याकोपः । 'अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् । साधुरेव स मन्तव्य' इति भगवद्वाक्यस्यानवकाशदोषाविष्टता च स्यात् । ननु 'नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः' इति श्रुतिविरोधादियं स्मृतिर्विस्मृतिरेवेति चेत्, तन्न । अस्याः श्रुतेरपरिनिष्ठितज्ञानपुंविषयत्वात् '(नाशान्तमान)सो वा पि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुया'-दति वाक्यशेषात् स्मृतेः परिनिष्ठितज्ञानपुंविषयत्वाच्च 'सम्यग्व्यवसितो हि स'

इति वाक्यशेषात्। न च मूलशून्यदर्शनदौर्बल्यम्; 'स यो मां विजानीयान्नास्य केन च कर्मणा। लोको मीयते न मातृवधेन न पितृवधेन न स्तेयेन भ्रूणहत्यये' ति बह्वृच-ब्राह्मणदर्शनात्। किञ्च पूर्वमभ्यस्तो धर्मो विदुषो न यतिधर्म एव परम्, अपि तु गृहिवर्ण्यादिधर्मोऽपि चिरमनुष्ठित एवेति संस्कारात्तत्राप्यस्याप्रवृत्तिः कथं न निवार्यते। कथञ्चाबुद्धिपूर्वकारिणोऽस्याशुभकर्मपरिहारेण शुभकर्मस्वेव प्रवृत्तिस्साध्यते बुद्धिपूर्वकारित्वे वा कथमफलार्थित्वं समर्थ्यते, परानुग्रहफलार्थित्वे स्वपरविभागज्ञानशून्यता कथमुज्जीव्येत, भक्तिज्ञानपौष्कल्यार्थित्वे कथं विदितवेद्यता निर्विवादमवस्थाप्येत;

"न मय्येकान्तभक्तानां गुणदोषोद्भवा गुणाः।
साधूनां समचित्तानां बुद्धेःपरमुपेयुषाम्"

इति भागवतं वाक्यमपि विदुषः पुण्यफलसम्बन्धे विरुद्ध्येत।

'तदधिगम उत्तरपूर्वाघयोरश्लेषविनाश। तद्दर्शनात्'

इति वैयासिकं सूत्रमपि।

"यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्ते।
एवमेवंविदपापं कर्म न श्लिष्यते"
"ज्ञानाग्निस्सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन (तथा)"॥

इति श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रधानं प्रतिपक्षिपदेऽभिषिच्येत। तस्माद्विदुषश्शुभाशुभसाधारण्यमुचितं तत्फलरागद्वेषाभावात्। अत एव च श्रुतिः—

'तस्य प्रिया ज्ञातयस्सुकृतमुपयन्त्यप्रिया दुष्कृतम्।'

इति। ततश्चाधर्मानुष्ठान इव धर्मानुष्ठानेपि भक्तस्य नाग्रह इति **नास्था धर्मे** इत्युचित-मुक्तम्; तथाप्यर्थकामयोरभिलाषावश्यंभावः, अन्यथा जीवनाभावेन भजनभङ्गतादवस्थ्यात्, ततश्च तद्धेतौ धर्मेप्यास्थया भाव्यमित्यत आह—**न वसुनिचये**—अर्थसञ्चये; **न कामोप-भोगे** स्रक्चन्दनवनिताद्ये एव विषयानुभवे चास्थेति। एवं चेत् कथं जीवनमित्यत्राह—**यद्यत्सुखं दुःखं वा भव्यमवश्यं भवितव्यं तत् भवतु**। कुतस्ततसम्भव इत्यत उक्तम्

पूर्वकर्मानुरूपमिति। प्राचीनमेतद्देहारम्भकं यच्छुभमशुभं वा कर्म तस्यानुरूपं सदृशाकारं भव्यमिति सम्बन्धः। अयं भावः—

" किं धनै र्धनदैर्वा किं कामैर्वा कामदैरुत।
मृत्युनाग्रस्य मानस्य जन्मभिर्वोत कर्मभिः " ॥

इति प्रोक्तरीत्या, नित्यसन्निहितमृत्योः पुंसस्सुखसाधनत्वेनाभिमतानां कामानां तत्साधनानामर्थानां तत्साधनानां कर्मणां च साङ्गानां वस्तुतो दुःखसाधनत्वमिति न धर्मार्थकामाः प्रार्थनीयाः। जीवनं चाप्रार्थितैरपि प्रारब्धकर्मोपनतैरर्थकामैर्भविष्यतीति। तथा च स्मृतिः—

" नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि।
अवश्यमनुभोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम् " ॥

इति। ननु परिनिष्ठितभक्तेः पुंसस्तत्वज्ञत्वेन निवृत्ताविद्यत्वात् न तन्मयानि कर्माण्यवशिष्येरन्। उक्तं चोरुगायेन

" ज्ञानाग्निस्सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते "

इति। तत्कथं तद्देहस्य प्राचीनकर्मानुरूपा वृत्तिस्स्यादिति चेत्, मैवम्। एतद्देहारम्भकं प्राचीनं कर्मेत्युक्तोत्तरत्वात्। कोऽस्य कर्मणो विशेष इति चेत्, विद्योपजीव्यत्वमिति ब्रूमः। नो खल्वपवरकान्तस्तमोऽपहस्तयन्प्रदीपस्स्वाधारच्छायात्मकं तमोऽपहस्तयति। विपक्षे विदुषः सद्यो देहपाताद्विद्यासम्प्रदायविलयः प्रसज्येत। तस्मात् परिपूर्णभक्तेरपि पुंसः प्रारब्धकर्मणा मुक्तेषुवदविश्रान्तवेगत्वात् पूर्वकर्मानुरूपमिति साधूक्तम्। तथाच श्रुतिः—

" तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्ये अथ सम्पत्स्ये "।

इति। पञ्चमो वेदश्च—

" देहो हि दैववशगः खलु कर्म यावत् स्वारम्भकं प्रति समीक्षत एव सासु।
तं सप्रपञ्चमधिरूढसमाधियोगः स्वाप्नं पुनर्न भजते प्रतिबुद्धवस्तु " ॥

इति। किं तर्हि प्रार्थनीयमित्याह—**एतदिति**। यद्वा दुःखव्याप्तेऽपि विषये सुखवैमुख्यं न कार्यं न खलु सकळङ्कादपि कलाधीशादुद्विजते लोक इत्यत्राह—**एतदिति**। यद्यपि सुखत्वाद्विषयसुखमपि प्रार्थनीयं तथाप्येतद्वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणं सुखं **मम** नित्यानित्यवस्तु-विवेकादिमतः **प्रार्थ्यं** प्रार्थनार्हं बहुमतं पूर्णतया निर्णीतं निरातशयसुखत्वान्न खलु मत्तकाशिनीसम्भोगसुखमपहाय गर्दभीयभनमगर्दभोऽभिलषेत। एतदिति परामृष्टमर्थ-माह—"**जन्मजन्मान्तरेऽपि त्वत्पादाम्भोरुहयुगगता निश्चला भक्तिरस्तु**" इति। मद्भजनस्यैव कर्तव्यत्वे कुतो विषयसेवामपहाय मम सेवामेव सर्वे न कुर्वन्तीत्यत उक्तम्—**ममेति**। नित्यानित्यसुखविवेकाभावादिति भावः। यद्वा यदि निरतिशयसुखात्म-कत्वाद्भक्तिं कामयसे, कुतस्तर्हि तव तल्लक्षणे मोक्षे विद्वेषः इत्यत उक्तम्—**ममेति**। यद्यपि भक्तिमुक्त्योस्तुल्ययोगक्षेमता, अखण्डानन्दानुभवमयत्वात् तथापि पुंसां रुचिवैचित्र्य-नियमान्मम भक्तिविषयैव प्रार्थना न दोषायेति भावः॥ अत्रैतदवधेयम्—मुक्तिर्नाम विश्वोत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारहेतुत्वोपलक्षितस्य सच्चिदानन्दैकरसमूर्तेर्ब्रह्मणस्तत्वमस्यादिमहावाक्य-प्रमाणकः प्रत्यक्चिन्मात्रतासाक्षाद्बोधः, भक्तिः पुनरीश्वरनिष्ठनिरतिशयबहुमानविश्वासयोरा-त्मनिष्ठनिरतिशयप्रेम्णः चाखण्डब्रह्मात्मपर्यवसिततया तत्समसमयाभिव्यज्यमानो रोमहर्षा-श्रुपातमुखविकासादिलिङ्गकः कश्चनापूर्वदर्शनो मानसोल्लासो योऽसौ नित्यनिरतिशयप्रीत्यावि-र्भावापरपर्यायो भवतीत्यतोऽनयोरेकनिमित्तत्वात् एककालत्वादेकाधिकरणत्वादेकविषयत्वाच्च वस्तुत ऐकरूप्यं व्यवहारतश्च भेदः, तेनात्रेच्छाविकल्पो युक्ततरः अन्यतरसिद्धाव(परस्याव)-श्यम्भावादिति। तथाच पुराणोपनिषत्—

"भक्तिः परेशानुभवो विरक्तिरन्यत्र चैतत्त्रिकमेककालम्"।

इत्येतदभिसन्धाय च श्रीमान् स्तोत्रावलीकारः प्रावोचत्—

"त्वमेवात्मेश सर्वस्य सर्वश्चात्मनि रागवान्"

इति।

"स्वभावसिद्धां त्वद्भक्तिं ज्ञानयज्ञञ्च(?)येऽर्जुन।
भक्तिलक्ष्मीसमृद्धानां किमन्यदुपयाचितम्॥
एनया वा दरिद्राणां किमन्यदुपयाचितम्"॥

इति । **जन्मान्तरेपी**त्यपिशब्दादस्मिन् जन्मन्यपीतिं प्रोक्तम् । **निश्चला भक्तिर्निरुपा**धिको नित्यनिरतिशयप्रीतिरूपा; उपाधौ सति तद्विनाशे भक्तेरपि विनाशान्नैश्चल्यं न सिद्ध्यतीति ॥ ३ ॥

एवमपीह चिरजीवनमन्त ऊर्ध्वलोकप्राप्तिश्चेत्युभयमभ्यर्थनीयमित्यत्राह—

दिवि वा भुवि वा ममास्तु वासो
नरके वा नरकान्तक ! प्रकामम् ।
अवधीरितशारदारविन्दौ
चरणौ ते मरणेऽपिचिन्तयानि ॥ ४ ॥

दिवि वेति । नराणां कं वैषयिकसुखं तस्यान्तमवसानं तरतमभावेनोपलभ्यमान स्यास्य विश्रान्तिभूमिस्तच्च तत् कं सुखं च नरकान्तकं तत्र सम्बोधनं **नरकान्तके** निस्सीमसुखात्मन्नित्यर्थः "एतस्यैवानन्दस्यान्यानि भूतानि मात्रा मुपजीवन्ती"ति श्रुतेः । यद्वा प्राप्तस्वर्गाधिपत्यस्येन्द्रस्याप्युपद्रवकर्तुर्नरकनाम्नोऽसुरवीरस्य शिरश्छेत्ता नरकान्तकस्तस्य सम्बोधनं तथा । अथवा नरको दण्डस्थानत्वात् संसारः तस्य सनिदानस्य संहर्त्ता तथोक्तः "तेषामहं समुद्धर्त्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरा" दिति स्मृतेः । अनेन सम्बोधनेन त्वदर्पितमनसां नित्यतृप्तत्वात्त्वया नित्यनिरस्तदुःखत्वाच्च भूनरकलोकावपि स्वर्लोकाविति न विशेषतः स्वर्वासस्तैरभ्यर्थनीय इति वा । शतमखपदप्राप्तावप्यपरिचितार्थत्वादनस्तमितभयत्वाच्च नरकवत् स्वर्गोपि त्याज्य इति वा सूच्यते । **मम दिवि,** अग्निलोकादिब्रह्मलोकान्ते; "स एतं देवयानं पन्थानमासाद्याग्निलोकमागच्छति स वायुलोकं स वरुणलोकं स आदित्यलोकं स इन्द्रलोकं स प्रजापतिलोकं स ब्रह्मलोकं" इति श्रुतेः । **भुवि,** मनुष्यलोके वा, **नरके** यमलोके वा । यद्वा **दिवि** देवयोन्यष्टके **भुवि** मनुष्ययोनौ **नरके** पश्वादिस्थावरान्तयोनिपञ्चके **प्रकामं** यथाभिलषितं क्षणं चिरं वा क्षणेन दुःखेन वा जडतया अजडतया वा **वासोऽस्तु**। अतिसर्जने लोट् । तत्र प्रकारविशेषाग्रहो मया विसृष्ट इत्यर्थः । किं तर्हि विशेषतः कामयस इत्याह—**ते** तव तत्वमसिवाक्यार्थभूतसदानन्दचिद्घनब्रह्मात्मनश्च**रणौ** तत्वंपदार्थौ **चिन्तयानि** । प्रार्थनायां लोट् । तच्च सदेत्याह—**मरणेऽपीति**। अपिजीवनसमुच्चये पूर्वोत्तरकालसमुच्चये वा; चिन्तनं नाम जीवेशयोरन्योन्य-

स्वरूपानुप्रवेशपर्यवसानतया यथाश्रुतं विमर्शः 'त्वं वा अहमस्मि भगवो देव ते अहं वै त्वमसीति' श्रुतेः, उपपत्तेश्च विश्वसर्गादिकर्त्ता कोऽप्यचिन्त्यमहिमा देवोऽस्ति ; सचैकः सर्वेश्वरत्वस्यानेकत्र विश्रान्त्ययोगात्, वयन्तु तत्सृष्टिमध्यपतिता विश्वयन्त्रवाहकस्य तस्य [वशं] वशवर्तिनोऽनन्तरूपा इत्येतत् पामरा अपि जानन्ति । यथाहुः "कारवोपि तं विश्वकर्मेत्युपासत" इति । श्रुतिश्च—

"उतैनं गोपा अदृशन्नदृशन्तुदहार्य्यः" ।

इति । ये पुनरिहेश्वरो नास्तीति प्रलपन्ति तेऽपि तत्प्रसिद्धिं निरात्मवादिन इव साधयन्ति ।

"लब्धरूपे क्वचित् किञ्चित् तादृगेव निषिद्ध्यते' ।

इति न्यायात्, सर्वविधिनिषेधयोः परमेश्वरादन्यस्य कर्तृत्वासम्भवात् स्वयमेवेश्वरत्वप्रसक्तेश्च । तदुक्तं भट्टपादैः—

"यदीयशक्त्यनाविष्टं जगत्स्पन्दितुमक्षमम् ।
युक्तिभिस्तमपह्नोतुं कश्शक्तः परमेश्वरम्" ॥

इति ॥ श्रीपद्मपादैश्च—

'य एव निराकर्ता स एवात्मेति प्रसङ्गात्' ।

इति । अतो जीवेशभेदो न श्रुत्या प्रतिपादयितव्यः । ज्ञातार्थज्ञापकत्वलक्षणस्य तत्प्रतिपादने सिद्धेः ; चेतनादन्यत्वेनान्यतरस्याचेतनत्वापत्तेः जीवस्येश्वरभयानिवृत्तेश्च तदुक्तम्—

"नानार्थमात्मनो यावत् पारतन्त्र्यं तदैव हि ।
यावदस्यास्वतन्त्रत्वं तावदीश्वरतो भयम्" ॥

इति ॥ श्रुतिश्च—

'द्वितीया द्वै भयं भवतीति'; "द्वासुवर्णा स युजासखाया"

इति श्रुतिर्लोकप्रसिद्धभेदानुवादेन महावाक्यार्थभूताभेदंप्रतिपादनपरा। अन्यथा उपक्रमोपसंहारादिषड्विधतात्पर्यलिङ्गविरोधादिति। चरणयोश्शोधिततत्वंपदार्थतामाह—**अवधीरीतशारदारविन्दाविति**। अपधीरिते स्वशोभया धिक्कृते शरक्कालीने अरविन्दे याभ्यां तौ तथोक्तौ ; केयं तयो श्शुद्धिर्न्नाम—उभयैक्यविरोधिरूपस्य ब्रह्मणि परोक्षत्वदूरस्थत्वादेरात्मन्यनेकत्वदुःखित्वादेश्च दृश्यत्वे दृगसम्बन्धाददृश्यत्वे दृङ्मात्रत्वाच्छून्यत्वाद्वा व्युदसनेन पदाभ्यामद्वितीयापरोक्षचिन्मात्रपरिग्रहः। ॥ ४ ॥

अत्र प्रथमश्लोकेना**विस्मृतिस्त्वच्चरणारविन्देऽस्त्विति** भक्तिज्ञानप्रार्थनं कृतम्। द्वितीयेन नित्यनिरतिशयप्रीतिसाधनभूता भक्तिः प्रार्थिता। तृतीयेन नित्यनिरतिशयप्रीतिरूपिणी फलभूता। चतुर्थेन तत्फलभूतस्तत्वसाक्षाद्बोधः प्रार्थितः। मुकुन्देत्यादिभिस्सम्बोधनैस्सगुणस्य हरेस्साक्षात्कारो व्यञ्जितः॥

अथ भक्तिज्ञानफलभूता निश्शेषदुःखनिवृत्तिनिरतिशयानन्दावाप्तिलक्षणा मुक्तिर्द्वाभ्यां श्लोकाभ्यां प्रकाश्यते। तत्रादौ निश्शेषदुःखनिवर्तकत्वं भक्तेराह—

करचरणसरोजे कान्तिमन्नेत्रमीने
श्रममुषि भुजवीचिव्याकुलेऽगाधमार्गे।
हरिसरसि विगाह्यापीय तेजोजलौघं
भवमरुपरिखिन्नः खेदमद्य त्यजामि॥ ५॥

करचरणेति। 'स्याद्रूपकमभेदो य उपमानोपमेययोरि' त्युक्तलक्षणं रूपकमत्रालङ्कारः। **भवमरुपरिखिन्नः** संसारतापसन्तप्तसर्वाङ्गोऽहमद्य तत्प्रसादोदये **हरिसरसि** तापनिवर्तकत्वादाह्लादजनकत्वात् पावनत्वात् प्रसन्नगम्भीरत्वात् ब्रह्माण्डबुद्बुदनिकुरुम्बनिरन्तरत्वात् सर्वसाधारणत्वात् श्यामळवर्णत्वाच्च हरिरेव सरो हरिसरस्तस्मिन् **विगाह्य** मनो विलाप्य **तेजोजलौघं** तेजः कान्तिपूरः तत्वसाक्षाद्बोधो वा तच्च तज्जलञ्च तेजोजलं हृद्यत्वसाम्यात्तस्यौघः प्रवाहः अविच्छेदेन वर्तनात्तमापीय अनुसृत्यात्मसात्कृत्य वा **खेदं** सांसारिकं दुःखं **त्यजामि**। सरस्त्वमुपपादयितुं विशेषणानि। **करचरणसरोजे** कराश्च चरणौ च करचरणं तत् एव सरोजानि यस्मिन् तस्मिन्, **कान्तिमन्नेत्रमीने** कान्तिमती अनिमिषत्वकरुणरसार्द्रत्वदैर्घ्यादिगुणयुक्ते नेत्रे एव मीनौ यस्मिन् तस्मिन्, **श्रममुषि**

श्रमं संसारतापं मुष्णाति भक्तैरज्ञातमेव हरतीति श्रममुट् तस्मिन्, **भुजवीचिव्याकुले** भुजशब्दान्मणिबन्धादधोभागो गृह्यते। भुजा एव वीचयः तरंगा भुजवीचयः। अनिवार्यवेगत्वसाम्यात्ताभिर्व्याकुले व्याप्ते, **अगाधमार्गे** अगाधोऽतलस्पर्शोऽदृष्टावधिको मार्गस्स्वरूपं यस्य तस्मिन् ॥

"नते विष्णो जायमानो न जातो देवमहिम्नः परमन्तमापे"ति मन्त्रवर्णात्

"**भ्रान्त्वा भ्रान्त्वा** यदन्तस्त्रिभुवनगुरुरप्यब्दकोटीरनेका
गन्तुं नान्तं समर्थो भ्रमर इव पुनर्नाभिनालीकमूलात्।
उन्मज्जन्नूर्जितश्रीस्त्रिभुवनमपरनिर्म्ममे तत्सदृक्षं
देहाम्भोधिस्स देयो निरवधिरमृतं दैत्यविद्वेषिणो नः" ॥

इति श्रीभगवत्पादीयवाक्याच्च निर्मलनिस्तरंगसंविदानन्दसुधार्णवाविर्भूतां शुद्धसत्वगुणमयमायाविरचितमहदादितत्वग्रामोपार्जितविग्रहान्नीरदावदाताकारान्नीरजायमानमुखमण्डलमीनायमाननयनयुगलां किरीटतटनिविष्टसुस्पष्टमरीचिमन्मगा(हा)नायकमणितरणिकरनिकरविरचितविकासमुखकमलविगलद्वीक्षणामृतधारासम्पातपरितुष्यत्परमहंसपरम्परापरिगीयमानास्वाद(दां) वेदाननसन्देहावधारणक्षणकुतुककर्णसुभगां मकरयुगळीमधुरपु[र]टमणिकुण्डलोल्लास्तृक(त)गण्डभूमण्डलां तिलमणीवकमन्थरघोणाग्रमुक्तामणिशशिकरनिकरनीराजितवदनलक्ष्मीमन्दहासहसितकुन्देन्दुमन्दारमन्दाकिनीनीरकुशेशयकाशशोभां आशाविलासिनीसीमन्तसिन्दूरायमाणाधरमणिकिरणसरणिसमुदयामुदितयौवनां कम्बूदरमन्थरकन्धरां वारिजगदाविद्योतमानबाहुदण्डषण्डां अम्लानसुरतरुकुसुमकिसलयकलितकमनीयाकारसुरभितरवनमालालीनमधुसेवासमुन्मिषितमदमधुकरझङ्कारखोत्करवेदसारविद्रावितान्धकारांङ्कुरसुरासुरमुनिमहोरगगन्धर्वाप्सरोगणनिषेव्यमाणानिकटभूमिकां आलोलमुक्ताहारपरिष्कृतोरःस्थलविलसच्छ्रीवत्सकौस्तुभकलशाम्बुधिकन्यकाकल्पितानल्पवैभद्रा(वा)मभद्रभञ्जिनीं तप्तकाञ्चनसञ्चितकाञ्चीकलापाबद्धपीतदुकूलपरिहितनितम्बबिम्बां ऐरावतपुष्करसदृक्षोरुकाण्डां आखण्डलललनालोकमण्डनोपकरणमणिदर्पणदर्पापहजानुमण्डलमनोज्ञां मनोभवशरधिरुचिरजंघां जह्नुसुताजलनिर्णेजितचरणमणिनूपुरारवपराकृतपरिजनामङ्गलां मङ्गलाङ्गीं गीर्वाणगणनायकमौलिमणिघृष्टांघ्रिपीठां भागवतीं मूर्तिं पादारविन्दान्मन्दसितपर्यन्तं पुनः पुनः ध्यात्वा चित्तमैकाग्रीकृत्यान्ते तामपि

चित्तबलिशतया परित्यज्य सदानन्दचिद्घने स्वात्मन्येव भगवति मनो विलाप्य निरस्तनिखिलदुःखो भवामीत्यर्थः ॥ ५ ॥

अथ भक्ते र्निरतिशयसुखापादकत्वमाह—

सरसिजनयने सशङ्खचक्रे
मुरभिदि मा विरमस्व चित्त रन्तुम् ।
सुखतरमपरं न जातु जाने
हरिचरणस्मरणामृतेन तुल्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

सरसिजेति । हे **चित्त मुरभिदि** मुराख्यासुरसंहरणेन स्वचरणशरणलोकपालके पुण्यपापपाशसहस्रैराबध्य महतामपि परमोपद्रवकारिणो देहाभिमानस्य मूलाज्ञानभेदनद्वारा भेत्तरि वा **रन्तुं** पादसरोजादिमन्दहासावधि भूयो भूयः स्मृतिं प्रवर्तयितुं चिदानन्दविग्रहे तस्मिन् विलीय स्थातुं वा **मा विरमस्व** औदासीन्यं मा कृथाः नित्योद्योगं गच्छेत्यर्थः । कोऽसौ मुरभिदिति, तल्लक्षणमाह—**सरसिजनयने,** सरसिजे इव नित्यसुभगे **नयने** यस्य तस्मिन्; **सशङ्खचक्रे,** उपलक्षणमेतत्; शङ्खचक्रगदाब्जसहिते

"वन्दे तं देवकीसूनुं सद्योजातन्यु(तेन्दु)सप्रभम् ।
पीताम्बरं करलसच्चक्रशङ्खगदाम्बुजम्" ॥

इति मुकुन्दाष्टादशाक्षरध्यानसूत्रात् । अत्रैव रतेः कार्यत्वे हेतुः **सुखतर**मिति । **जातु** कदाचिदपि **हरिचरणस्मरणामृत**ममृतत्वफलत्वात् सुमधुरत्वाच्च **तेन तुल्य**रूपं वस्तु **सुखतर**मतिशयेन सुखप्रदं **न जाने** । 'स एष रसानां रसतम' इति श्रुतेः परमानन्दरूपं परमात्मा मुख्यो रसस्तेन तत्स्वरूपानुभूतेरभ्यधिकं परमनिर्वृतिप्रदं किञ्चिन्न सम्भवतीति भावः । यद्वा—देवतान्तरभक्तेरपि मुक्तिहेतुत्वश्रवणान्न मुरभिदेकनिष्ठत्वं चित्तस्य प्रार्थनीयमित्यत उक्तं—**सुखतर**मिति । हरिचरणस्मरणमेव यदमृतं अमृतत्वसाधनं तेन तुल्यम**परं** सुखतरं साक्षादमृतत्वसाधनं जातु न जाने ।

"स्वधर्मनिष्ठश्शतजन्मभिः पुमान् विरिञ्चतामेति ततः परं हि माम् ।
अव्याकृतं भागवतोऽथ वैष्णवं पादं यथाहं विबुधैक(?)त्यये" ॥

इति श्रीरुद्रगीताप्रामाण्यात् ब्रह्मरुद्रभक्तेर्विष्णुभक्तिद्वारेणैव मोक्षहेतुत्वं, विष्णुभक्तेस्तु साक्षादित्याशयः ॥ ६ ॥

यस्माद्दिवि वा भुवि वेत्युक्तगत्या हरिभक्तानां नरकोऽपि स्वर्लोकायते तस्मान्नरकभयपरिजिहीर्षुभिर्हरिभजनमेव कार्यमित्याह—

मा भैर्मन्द ! मनो ! विचिन्त्य बहुधा यामीश्चिरं यातनाः
नामी नः प्रभवन्ति पापरिपवः स्वामी ननु श्रीधरः ।
आलस्यं व्यपनीय भक्तिसुलभं ध्यायस्व नारायणं
लोकस्य व्यसनापनोदनकरो दासस्य किं न क्षमः ॥ ७ ॥

मा भैरिति। 'माभैरित्याययुर्द्रुत' मित्याद्यार्षप्रयोगदर्शनात् सिजभावो न दुष्यति। हे **मनः! मन्द !** अनर्थसन्ततिचिन्तापर! **चिरं** दीर्घकालं **यामीः** यमकर्तृका **यातना**स्तीव्रवेदनाः **बहुधा** असिपत्रवने छेदादिभेदेन **विचिन्त्य मा भैर्मा** भैषीः । ननु नियमेन पुण्यस्यानुष्ठातुमशक्यत्वात् स्वभावबलात् पापस्यानुष्ठाननिश्चयाच्च कथं प्रबलतरेषु यमकिङ्करेषु पशुवत् पाशं कण्ठे कृत्वाऽऽकृष्य सरभसमतिरौद्रेण मार्गेण यातनास्थानं प्रापयिष्यमाणेषु तत्स्मर्तुर्भयान्निवृत्तिरित्यत आह—**अमी** शास्त्रप्रसिद्धाः **पापरिपवः** पापाः पापकारिणः तेषां रिपुवत्तीव्रदण्डकर्तारो यमकिङ्कराः । तथाच शास्त्रं—

'उरूणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बरौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनाननु'[1] ।

इति। **नो**ऽस्मान् प्रति **न प्रभवन्ति** बलात् गृहीतुमपि न शक्ता भवन्ति दुर्मार्गेण यातनास्थानं नेतुं नीत्वा दण्डभेदान् कर्तुञ्च किंपुनः । तदुक्तं श्रीमद्विष्णुपुराणे—

"स्वपुरुषमभिवीक्ष्य पाशहस्तो वदति यमः किल तस्य कर्णमूले ।
परिहर मधुसूदनप्रपन्नान् प्रभुरहमन्यनृणां न वैष्णवानाम् ।"

इति । न प्रभवन्तीत्यत्र हेतुः **स्वामी ननु श्रीधरः** । लक्ष्मीमुरसा धरतीति श्रीधरः । यद्वा-श्रियं 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मी'त्येवं रूपां स्वरूपानन्दानुभूतिं स्वमहिम्न्येव धारयतीति तथोक्तः ।

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१. 'उरुणसावसुतृपावुलुंबलौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतोवशाँ अनु'—इति तैत्तिरीयारण्यकपाठः ॥

'तदात्मानमेवावैदहं ब्रह्मास्मी' ति श्रुतेः। यद्वा श्रियं पारमेश्वरसम्पदं आत्मसात्करोतीति तथा। अथवा श्रियमलौकिकीं गात्रशोभां वहतीति तथा।

"तमद्भुतं बालकं अम्बुजेक्षणं चतुर्भुजं शङ्खगदाद्युदायुधम्"

इत्यादिश्रवणात्। श्रियं क्षीरसागरकन्यकां पाणौ गृह्णातीति तथा। सर्वत्र सर्वदा जयश्रियं धारयतीति वा तथा। 'जितं ते पुण्डरीकाक्षे' ति मन्त्रवर्णात्। **नन्विति** प्रसिद्धौ। **श्रीधरः स्वामी** रक्षिता **ननु**—स्वभक्तान् हरिस्सर्वत्र सर्वदा रक्षतीति प्रसिद्धमित्यर्थः। तथाच भगवद्वचनम्—

"कौन्तेय! प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति।
मां हि पार्थ! व्यपाश्रित्ययेऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः॥
स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेपि यान्ति परां गतिम्॥"

इति। अयं भावः—

"हरिर्हरति पापानि दुष्टचित्तैरति स्मृतः।
अनिछयापि संस्पृष्टो दहत्येव हि पावकः॥
सर्वदा सर्वकार्येषु नास्ति तेषाममङ्गलम्।
एषां हृदिस्थो भगवान् मङ्गलायतनं हरिः॥"

इत्यादिस्मरणात् श्रीहरिस्मरणपराणां पापमेव न सम्भवतीति यमस्तत्किङ्करा अपि तेषा मनुकूला एव स्युः प्रतिकूला न भवन्तीत्येव न परम्। अतो यमलोकोपि तेषामिन्द्रलोकायत इति। कथं पुनर्हरिदासता स्यादित्यत्राह—**आलस्य**मौदासीन्यं स्वाभाविकमपि **व्यपनीय** नियमेन त्यक्त्वा **नारायणं** नारो जीवसमूहः तस्यायनमाश्रयः पारमार्थिकरूपं वा नारायणम्। यद्वा—नरिष्यतीति नरः परमात्मा तस्माज्जातानि महदादिधरण्यन्तानि तत्वानि नाराणि तान्येवायनं कार्यकारणान्वयन्यायादभिव्यक्तिस्थानमस्येति तथा तं **ध्यायस्व**। ननु तद्भक्तत्वस्य वैदिकत्वे नानेकनियमसापेक्षस्य न सुकरत्वमित्यत उक्तम्—**भक्तिसुलभ**मिति। सुखेन लब्धुं शक्यः **सुलभः भक्तिः** तस्मिन् परा प्रीतिस्तया सुलभो भक्ति सुलभः तं भगवदौन्मुख्योदयमात्रमत्र निमित्तं न द्विजत्वविद्वत्वादीत्यर्थः

"न रोचयति मां धर्मो न सांख्यं योग उद्धव ! ।
न स्वाद्धयायस्तपस्त्यागो नेष्टापूर्तं न दक्षिणा ॥
व्रतानि यज्ञाः छन्दांसि तीर्थानि नियमा यमाः ।
यथाऽवरुद्धेन्मत्संगस्सर्वदुःखापहो हि मां ॥"

इति श्रीभागवतवाक्यात् । कुतः पुनर्हरेर्दासंरक्षणशक्तिर्निश्चितेति; श्रुतार्थापत्तित इत्याह—**लोकस्य** स्वप्रसङ्गविवर्जितस्याजामिळव्याधादेरपि **व्यसनापनोदनकरस्**साङ्केतिकस्वनामतदंशोच्चारणवशात् परिहृतानर्थपरम्परोऽसौ **दासस्य** दीयतेऽस्मै स्वामिना सर्वमभिलषितमिति दासः स्वपादैकशरणः तस्य व्यसनापनोदने **किं न क्षमः** स्वपादसेवापराङ्मुखानां पापशीलानाञ्च बहूनां जनानां नारायणेति वा नालायणीत्यादिरूपेण वा पुत्रजायाद्याह्वानबुद्ध्या समस्तस्याऽसमस्तस्य वा स्वनाम्नो मरणकाल उच्चारणादखिलानर्थपरिहरणं श्रूयमाणमेकस्य स्वांघ्रिमात्रशरणस्य साधोर्यथाशक्ति नामसङ्कीर्तनादिकर्तुश्च पुंसो नरकभयभञ्जनासामर्थ्ये भगवतो नोपपद्यत इत्यर्थापत्तिरत्र दर्शिता । तदुक्तम्—

"एतावतालमघनिर्हरणाय पुंसां सङ्कीर्तनं भगवतो गुणकर्मनाम्नाम् ।

विक्रुश्य पुत्र ! मघवान् यदजामिळोपि नारायणेति म्रियमाण उपैति मुक्तिम् ॥"

इत्यादि ॥ ७ ॥

अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते; हरिस्स्वदासानां नरकभयमपनुदतीति यावता संसारभयमप्यसौ हरत्येवेत्याह—

भवजलधिमगाधं दुस्तरं निस्तरेयं
कथमहमिति चेतो मा स्म गाः कातरत्वम् ।
सरसिजदृशि देवे तावकी भक्तिरेषा
नरकभिदि निषण्णा तारयिष्यत्यवश्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

भवजलधिमिति । हे **चेतः !** अगाधमतलस्पर्शमपरिच्छेद्यस्वलक्षणं **दुस्तरमपारं भवजलधिं** जन्मादिसंसारसागरं **कथं** केनोपायेन **निस्तरेयमहमिति** विचिन्त्य **कातरत्वं** भीरुत्वं **मा स्म गाः** अवश्यं मा गाः । कस्तर्हि तन्निस्तरणोपाय इत्याह—**नरकभिदि निषण्णा** तद्विषया

एषा निरुपाधिकी **तावकी** त्वत्कर्तृका **भक्तिस्त्वामवश्यं तारयिष्यति**। भवजलधेरिति शेषः । कोऽसौ नरकभिदित्यत उक्तं—**देव** इति । 'एको देवस्सर्वभूतेषु गूढ' इति श्रुतिप्रसिद्धः स्वप्रकाशचिद्रूपः प्रपञ्चसर्गादिक्रीडाकर्ता स्वात्मनि कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वाद्यनर्थप्रवर्तिकां मायां जेतुमिच्छन् वा परमात्मेत्यर्थः । निरुपाधिके परेऽद्वितीयत्वान्न भक्तिसम्भव इत्यत उक्तं–**सरसिजदृशीति** । सरसिजे इव दृशौ यस्य तस्मिन् सोपाधिक इत्यर्थः । अत्र चेतश्शब्दादन्तःकरणमणिदर्पणप्रतिबिम्बितचिन्मूर्तिजीवो विवक्ष्यते ; अतो न बन्धमोक्षविरोधः।

"ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि मयि सन्यस्य मत्पराः ।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायन्त उपासते ।
तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ॥"

इति भगवद्गीतां हृदि निधाय अवश्यपदप्रयोगः ॥ ८ ॥

नन्वेवं भक्तेरतिशयेनाभ्यर्थनीयत्वे कुतस्सर्वेऽपि पुमर्थार्थिनस्तत्रैव न प्रवर्तन्त इत्याशङ्क्य विषयाभिषङ्गदोषदूषितधिषणत्वादिति परिहारं मनसि निधाय वैराग्योदयद्वारेण सर्वेषां नृणां विष्णुभजनेच्छाविर्भावमभ्यर्थयते—

भवजलधिगतानां द्वन्द्ववाताहतानां
सुतदुहितृकळत्रत्राणभारार्दितानाम् ।
विषमविषयतोये मज्जतामप्लवानाम्
भवतु शरणमेको विष्णुपोतो नराणाम् ॥ ९ ॥

भवजलधिगतानामिति । **भवो** गर्भगृहवासादिमरणान्तः संसार एव **जलधि**र्भवजलधिः भवजलधेरनवधित्वात् सत्वसंघोपबृंहितत्वात् भीषणत्वाच्च तत्र **गताः** पतितास्तेषां तत्रापि नराणां स्वर्गापवर्गद्वारभूतं मानुषन्देहं प्राप्तानां । तदुक्तं—

"नृदेहमासाद्य सुदुर्लभं प्लवं महत्सुकल्यं गुरुकर्णधारम् ।
मयाऽनुकूलेन नभस्वतेरितं यो वै भवाब्धिं न तरेत् स आत्महा ॥"

इति ;

"लब्ध्वा सुदुर्लभमिदं बहुसम्भवान्ते मानुष्यमर्थदमनित्यमपीह धीरः ।
तूर्णं यतेत न पतेदनुमृत्यु यावन्निश्रेयसाय विषयः खलु सर्वतस्स्यात्" ॥

इति च । **एकः** प्रधानो 'न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते' इति श्रुतेः अद्वितीयो वा एको देव इति श्रुतेः "एक एव तु भूतात्मा भूते भूते व्यवस्थितः । एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रव" दिति स्मृतेश्च । **विष्णुपोतः** 'आत्मा हि विष्णुस्सकलस्य जन्तो' रिति वचनात् विष्लृ व्याप्ताविति स्मरणाच्चानवच्छिन्नचिदात्मा सर्वान्तर्यामी विष्णुस्स एव पोत उडुपापरपर्यायो विष्णुपोतः । तदुक्तं—

"स्वयं समुत्तीर्य सुदुस्तरं द्युमद्भवाम्बुधिं भीममदभ्रसौहृदाम् ।
भवत्पदाम्भोरुहनावमात्रकं निधाय यातास्सदनुग्रहो भवान् ॥"

इति । **शरण**माश्रयो रक्षिता वा **भवतु** । ननु तेषां यज्ञादिधर्मोऽस्ति शरणं 'अपामसोमममृता अभूमे'ति श्रुतेस्तत् किं विष्णुपोतेनेत्यत उक्तं—**अप्लवान**मिति । नासौ मुख्यः प्लवो यो धर्मलक्षणः । 'प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा' इति श्रुतेः कर्मणामविद्यामयत्वेन तन्निवर्तकत्वायोगात् क्रियासाध्यत्वे मोक्ष[स्य]-सुखस्य विषयसुखवदन्तवत्वापत्तेश्चेत्याशयः । तेषां प्लवप्रार्थनौचित्यसिद्ध्ये विशेषणानि । **द्वन्द्ववाताहतानां** द्वन्द्वानि कामक्रोधादीन्येव वातास्तत इतः क्षेपकत्वसाम्यात् 'कामक्रोधोद्भवं वेग'मिति स्मृतेः तैराहतानां पीडितानां **सुतदुहितृकळत्रत्राणभारार्दितानां** सुताश्च दुहितरश्च कळत्राणि च सुतदुहितृकळत्राणि तेषां त्राणं रक्षणं सचासौ भारश्च तेनार्दितानां विवशीकृतानां; अत एव **विषमविषयतोये** विषमाः क्षणिकत्वसातिशयत्वबहु प्रयासलभ्यत्वादिभिर्दुःखबहुळा विषयास्स्रक्चन्दनवसनान्नादय एव यत्तोयं तस्मिन् मज्जतामाविष्टचित्तानां । लोके हि दैवात् समुद्रमद्ध्ये पतितानां महता भारेण युक्तानां महावातेन हन्यमानानां कल्लोलमालाकुले महति तोये मुहुर्मज्जतामुन्मज्जतां च विनष्टप्लवानां वणिक्जनानां कारुणिकेन पुरुषवरेण प्लवोऽन्वेषणीयो भवतीति भावः । अयमत्र विवक्षितोऽर्थः दैवात् लब्धमनुष्यदेहा देहिनस्सर्वे विवेकभाजो भूत्वा पुत्रपुत्रीकळत्रादिभिस्सह क्षणभंगुरानन्ततो दुःखनिवहहेतून् विषयान् विसृज्य विष्णुपादाब्जपरा भवन्त्विति ॥ ९. ॥

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Śri Mukundamālā

with

Tātparyadipīka

of

Rāghavānanda.

—*K. R. Pisharoti.*

ननु 'प्रयाति परमं पारं विष्णवाख्यं पदमव्यय' मिति श्रुतेस्संसारार्णवपारभूतस्य विष्णोस्तत्पोतत्वकथनमयुक्तं इत्याशंकायां स्वगतभक्तिनौकाऽभेदाभिप्रायेण तथात्वकथनात् न दोष इत्याह ; यद्वा—भवजलधिगतानामित्यत्र कथं भवस्य जलधित्वं विषमसञ्चारित्वं वेति तत् समर्थयन्नाह ; अथवा—अतीतश्लोके मुकुन्द इति अहमिति चरणाविति शरणमितिच गृहीतरूपस्य तत्र तत्र प्रकाशितार्थस्य च मौकुन्दमन्त्रस्य मुख्यभक्तिफलस्य दुःखिजनमालाधिकारित्वमाविष्कुर्वंस्तद्व्याख्यानमुपसंहरति—

तृष्णातोये मदनपवनोद्धूतमोहोर्मिमाले
दारावर्त्ते तनयसहजग्राहसंघाकुले च ।
संसाराख्ये महति जलधौ मज्जतां नस्त्रिधामन् !
पादाम्भोजे वरद ! भवतो भक्तिनावं प्रसीद ॥ १० ॥

तृष्णेति । त्रीण्यकारोकारमकाराख्यानि जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिसंज्ञानि च स्थानान्यस्येति वा, ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राख्यानि विश्वतैजसप्राज्ञाख्यानि च तेजांस्यस्येति वा, **त्रिधामा,** तत्र संबोधनं **त्रिधामन्निति** । भोगमोक्षलक्षणं वरं ददातीति वरदः, तत्र संबोधनं **वरदेति** । सम्बोधनद्वयमादरार्थम् । **संसाराख्ये महत्य**पारे **जलधौ मज्जतां नो**ऽस्माकं **भवतः पादाम्भोजे,** पाद एवाम्भोजं तस्मिन् विषये **भक्तिनावं** भक्तिर्निरतिशयप्रीतिरेव नौस्तां **प्रसीदा**नुगृहाण । कथमस्य जलधित्वमित्यत उच्यते--**तृष्णातोये**—नानानदीजलागमेऽपि समुद्रजलवन्नानाविधकामावाप्तावपि प्रागिवावस्थितत्वसाम्यात् बहुविस्तारसाम्याद्वा, तृष्णा भोगेच्छैव तोयं यस्मिन् तस्मिन् ; **मदनपवनोद्धूतमोहोर्मिमाले** मदनो भोगसाधनेषु स्रक्चन्दनाङ्गनादिषु अभिषङ्गस्स एव पवनो महावायुः, निश्चलस्यापि चलयितृत्वात्, तेनोद्धूताः कम्पिताः मोहा द्वैतभ्रमा एवोर्मिमालाः कल्लोलकुलानि यस्मिन् तस्मिन् ; **दारावर्त्ते** दाराः कलत्रभिवावर्तो यस्मिन् तस्मिन्, संसारार्णवपरिभ्रमावहत्वसाम्यात् ; **तनयसहजग्राहसंघाकुले** तनयाः सहजाश्च धनधान्यादिजीवनसर्वग्रहणहेतुत्वात् ग्राहाः तेषां संघेन प्रतिजन्म प्रकाशमानेनाकुले पूर्णे ; चकार उक्तसमुच्चये । अत्र मान्त्रिकश्रीमत्पदव्याख्या—**त्रिधाम**न्निति, मुकुन्दपदव्याख्या **वरदे**ति,

भवत इत्यध्याहृत्य योजनोपदेशः । चरणावित्यंशप्रकाशनं **पादाम्भोज** इति । तत्त्वंपदार्थमात्रपरमार्थयोर्वाक्यार्थमूर्तेर्हरेश्चरणयोश्चिदानन्दयोः " सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसी" दिति सन्मात्रात्मनैक्यावद्योतनायैकवचनम् । **भक्तिनावं प्रसीदे**ति प्रपद्ये पदार्थप्रकटनम् । तदयमर्थः—हे श्रीमन् ! लक्ष्मीवल्लभ ! ऐश्वर्यादिषड्गुणपरिपूर्णेति वा स्वप्रकाशचिदात्मन्निति वा ब्रह्मविद्याप्रतिबिम्बितविग्रहेति वा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरेति वा ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्रादिवन्दितपादपीठेति वा—मुकुन्द—मुक्तिप्रद चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थप्रदेति वा अखण्डानन्दविग्रहेति वा, एवं सामानाधिकरण्येन चिदानन्दभेदोऽपास्तः, चित आनन्दादन्यत्वे तत्परतन्त्रत्वेन कदल्यादिवज्जडत्वापत्तेः, आनन्दस्य चितोऽन्यत्वेऽप्रकाशमानत्वेनाऽस्पृहणीयतापत्तेः उभयोरपि सतोऽन्यत्वेऽसत्वापत्तेश्चाखण्डार्थत्वं सच्चिदानन्दपदानामवगन्तव्यम् । अहं त्वच्चरणानुस्मरणादन्यदशेषं विसृज्यात्रैवासामर्थ्येऽपि नित्योद्यतस्संसारसर्पदष्टो मनुष्याभासो वा देहप्राणमनोबुद्ध्यहङ्कारशून्यद्रष्टृत्वा त्तद्विलक्षणश्चिदात्मा वा नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकेहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागशमदमादिसखमुमुक्षुत्वोपेतो वा त्वद्भजनाधिकारी तव सदात्मनः चरणौ शारदाम्भोरुहरमणीयौ पादौ चरणवत् समष्टिव्यष्टिदौ देहचेष्टाहेतुभूतौ चिदानन्दस्वलक्षणौ साक्षिशब्दलक्ष्यौ वा सदा जन्मनि जन्मनि नित्यं वाऽवस्थात्रयेऽपीति वा प्रपद्ये शरणं व्रजामि स्मरामीति वाऽस्मत्वेनानुभवामीति वा, सदानन्दचिदात्मनो भवतोऽन्यत्वे ममासत्त्वदुःखित्वजडत्वापरिहारादिति ॥ ॥ १० ॥

एवं तावत् साक्षाद्बोधशिरस्कभगवद्भक्त्येकफलं मन्त्रं प्रमाणीकृत्य भक्तिः प्रार्थिता । अथ " भवजलधिगतानां नराणां विष्णुपोतश्शरणं भवत्वि "त्यत्र संसारबन्धविध्वस्तये विष्णुभजनं कर्तव्यमित्युक्तम् ; तत्र कथं तत् कार्यमित्याकाङ्क्षायां भगवत्तत्वसाक्षाद्बोधफलप्रधानं **कार्ष्णाष्टादशाक्षरं मन्त्रं** प्रमाणीकृत्य प्रत्यक्चिन्मात्रतयेक्षिते तस्मिन् मनोलयलक्षणं योगमुपदिशति—

हे लोकाश्शृणुत प्रसूतिमरणव्याधेश्चिकित्सामिमां
योगज्ञास्समुदाहरन्ति मुनयो यां याज्ञवल्क्यादयः ।

अन्तर्ज्योतिरमेयमेकममृतं कृष्णाख्यमापीयतां
तत् पीतं परमौषधं वितनुते निर्वाणमात्यन्तिकम् ॥११॥

हे लोका इति। अत्र मूलप्रमाणत्वेनाभिमतस्य मन्त्रस्य सर्ववर्णाधिकारत्वं लोकशब्दाद्गम्यते। यथाहुः——

" सर्वेषु वर्णेषु तथाश्रमेषु नारीषु नानाह्वयजन्मभेषु।
दाता फलानामभिवाञ्छितानां द्रागेव गोपालकमन्त्र एषः॥"

इति।

हे लोकाः! इमां मुख्यां सर्वसाधारणीं वा प्रत्यक्षसिद्धां वा **प्रसूतिमरणव्याधेः** जन्ममरणसंसाररोगस्य **चिकित्सां** परिहरणोपायं **शृणुत** आकर्णयध्वम्। नचात्राविश्वासः कार्यः प्रामाणिकसम्मतत्वादित्याह **योगज्ञाः** योगशास्त्रज्ञाः **मुनयो** मननशीलास्स्वयं योगमनुतिष्ठन्तश्च **याज्ञवल्क्यादयो** याज्ञवल्क्यसनत्कुमारनारदादयो यां **समुदाहरन्ति** तात्पर्येणोपदिशन्ति। का सेत्याह—**कृष्णाख्यममृतमापीयता**मिति।

" कृषिर्भूवाचकश्शब्दो णश्च निर्वृतिवाचकः।
तयोरैक्यं परब्रह्म कृष्ण इत्यभिधीयते॥"

" तदेवानुभूतं सदमृतत्वं प्रयच्छती" त्यमृतम्। तत् किं प्रत्यक्चितोऽन्यत्? किं वाऽनन्यत्? अन्यत्वे जडत्वापत्तिः, द्वितीये दुःखितापत्तिरित्यत उक्तम्—**अन्तर्ज्योति**रिति। ब्रह्मादिमशकान्तप्राणिधीवृत्तिसाक्षिचैतन्यमित्यर्थः। अनेन मान्त्रिकगोविन्दपदार्थः प्रकाशितः। यथाहुः—"गोशब्दवाचकत्वाज्ज्ञानं तेनोपलभ्य इति (गो)विन्द इति।" नेनेतीत्थंभावे तृतीया, ज्ञानस्वरूपतयोपलभ्य इत्यर्थः। तदेवं प्रत्यक्चिन्मात्रपरमार्थत्वान्न कृष्णाख्यस्य ब्रह्मणो जडत्वं, नापि संसारित्वं, सुखदुःखादीनां दृश्यत्वेन दृक्सम्बन्धासम्भवाद् बुद्धिधर्मत्वप्रतीतेरिति परिहारः सिद्धो भवति। अत्र '**अन्तर्ज्योतिः**' कृष्णाख्यममृत' मिति सामानाधिकरण्येन तटस्थेश्वरवादो जडात्मवादश्च 'तत्वमसि' वाक्यार्थं प्रकाशयता प्रतिक्षिप्तः। **आपीयतां** अनुभूयतामित्येतत्। ननु ब्रह्मैव चेज्जीवः कुतस्सर्वे

देहिनः 'अहं ब्रह्मासी'ति न पश्यन्तीत्यत उक्तं—**अमेय**मिति । प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणाविषयमित्यर्थः । "विज्ञातारमरे केन विजानीयात्, अदृश्यो नहि दृश्यते" इति श्रुतेः । प्रमाणमपि यमाश्रित्य प्रमाणं भवति तस्य प्रमाणतदधीनशरीरप्राणानिलसुखादिचेत्यनतिशय्यसदाभासमानस्य वेदनैकरूपस्य सर्वत्र प्रीतिभाजस्सिद्धावभिनवार्थप्रकाशरूपस्य प्रमाणस्य तत्र नोपयोग इति न्यायाच्च । अप्रमेयत्वेऽपि स्वप्रकाशत्वान्नासिद्धिदोष इति **ज्योतिः** पदेन सूचितम् । तथाच श्रुतिः—"अत्रायं पुरुषः स्वयंज्योतिर्भवत्यात्मैवास्य ज्योति" रिति । ननु किमिदं स्वप्रकाशत्वं नाम? अनन्याधीनप्रकाशत्वं चेत् न; खपुष्पस्यापि तथात्वात् । स्वस्य स्वयमेव प्रकाशत्वं चेत् । तदपि न, आत्माश्रयात् । प्रकशान्तरमनपेक्ष्य प्रकाशमानत्वं चेत् तदप्यसत्, सूर्यादीनामपि तथात्वात् । सजातीयविजातीयप्रकाशान्तरानपेक्षमेवस्व प्रकाशत्वं चेत् तदप्यसारं, ब्रह्मणश्शास्त्रीयज्ञानविषयत्वात् तदविषयत्वेऽध्यात्मशास्त्रानारम्भप्रसङ्गाच्च । अतोऽनुपपन्न एवायं पक्ष इति प्राप्तम् । अत्र ब्रूमः—स्वप्रकाशत्वं नामाज्ञानविरोधित्वं तच्चान्ततो ज्ञानत्वमेव, 'ज्ञानमज्ञानस्यैव निवर्तक" मिति न्यायात् । ज्ञानादन्यस्य ज्ञेयत्वेन ज्ञातृत्वानुपपत्तेश्च । आत्माधीनसत्ताकं विज्ञानं तदधीनस्फुरण आत्मेतिचेत् न । ज्ञानोदयात्पूर्वमस्फुरद्रूपस्यात्मनः शशविषाणकल्पत्वेन ज्ञानकारणतानुपपत्तेरप्रकाशरूपादात्मन उत्पन्नत्वे ज्ञानस्य प्रकाशलक्षणायोगादात्मनो विकारित्वेनाऽनित्यत्वावताराच्च । अत आत्मैव ज्ञानशब्दार्थो मुख्यः । "अथायमात्माऽनन्तरोऽबाह्यः कृत्स्नः प्रज्ञानघन एवे"ति श्रुतेः । तदाभासानुवेधादन्तः—करणवृत्तिरपि घटसुखाद्याकारज्ञानमिति गीयते । "तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति" इति श्रवणात् । यत् पुनश्शास्त्रीयज्ञानविषयत्वान्न ब्रह्मणस्स्वप्रकाशत्वमिति तदसत् । वाक्यीयबुद्धिवृत्त्यभिव्यक्तश्चिदात्मा स्वाध्यस्तमशेषानर्थबीजमज्ञानं स्वयमेव तत्फलं भूत्वा हन्तीति परसमवेतक्रियाफलशालित्वलक्षणकर्मत्वाभावात् । तथा च प्रयोगः—आत्मा स्वप्रकाशः आत्मत्वात् विपर्ययेण घटवदिति । तदेवं प्रत्यक्षाद्यविषयत्वात् कर्मत्वपरिहारेण शास्त्रस्यास्मिन् प्रवृत्तिसम्भवाच्च ब्रह्मात्मनश्शास्त्रैकलभ्यतेति सर्वेषां तदप्रतीतिस्सम्भाव्यत इति सिद्धम् । ननु ब्रह्मणो ज्ञानात्मत्वे विज्ञानसन्तानत्वमापन्नमित्यत उक्तं **एक**मिति । ज्ञानस्य स्वतः

परतश्च जन्मविनाशभेदग्रहणासम्भवान्नित्यत्वमेकत्वञ्चाभ्युपेयम् । तथाहि न तावत् ज्ञानस्य स्वतो जन्मविनाशग्रहणं जन्मविनाशदशयोस्स्वयं सत्वापातात् स्वदृश्ययोस्तयोस्स्वात्मनि सत्वासम्भवाच्च । एवं स्वभेदस्यापि न स्वेनैव ग्रहणं, प्रागभिन्ने स्वात्मनि भेदग्रहणस्य भ्रान्तित्वात् , भिन्ने चेत् कुतः पूर्वं भेदस्सिद्ध इति वक्तव्यत्वाच्च, भेदस्य दृश्यत्वे दृक्सम्बन्धश्च दुर्घटः । न चान्यतो ज्ञातजन्मविनाशभेदानां ग्रहणं ज्ञानादन्यस्याज्ञानत्वेन ज्ञापकत्वानुपपत्तेः ज्ञानस्य स्वप्रकाशत्वेनान्यतस्तद्ग्रहणायोगात् धर्मिग्रहणेन विना धर्मग्रहणासम्भवाच्च । अतो जन्मादिविक्रियाविहीनमेकमेव ज्ञानमास्थेयमित्याशयः । यद्वा '**कृष्णाख्य**' मिति ब्रह्मणस्सदानन्दत्वं '**अन्तर्ज्योति**' रिति चित्वञ्चोक्तम् , तत्र सदानन्दचितां भेदे प्रसिद्धे ब्रह्मणोऽनेकरूपत्वं प्राप्तम् , तत्परिहारयोक्तं **एकमिति** । 'विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्मे' त्यादिवाक्येषु 'प्रकृष्टप्रकाशश्चन्द्र' इत्यादिलौकिकवाक्येष्विवाखण्डार्थत्वं पदानाम् । तत्र ह्यस्मिन्ज्योतिर्मण्डले 'कश्चन्द्र' इति प्रश्नोत्तरत्वात् यथा प्रकृष्टप्रकाशशब्दाभ्यां चन्द्रप्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रं जहदजहल्लक्षणया बोध्यते तथेहापि 'किंलक्षणं ब्रह्मेति' जिज्ञासायां पठितत्वाद्विज्ञानानन्दपदाभ्यामेको ब्रह्मशब्दार्थ एव लक्ष्यते, ततस्सदानन्दचितामैक्यम् । न चात्र पदानां पर्यायतया सहप्रयोगानुपपत्तिः, असज्जडदुःखव्यावर्तनार्थत्वात् सच्चिदानन्दपदानामित्यभिप्रायः । अथवा **कृष्णाख्यस्य** ब्रह्मणोऽन्तर्ज्योतिष्ट्वं वदता महदादिपृथिव्यन्तोऽहंकारादिदेहान्तश्च बाह्याध्यात्मिकप्रपञ्चो जडस्वभावत्वात्ततोऽन्यत्र सति निवेशित इति शङ्का स्यात्, तद्व्यपोहनायोक्त**मेक**मिति । सजातीयविजातीयस्वगतभेदशून्यमित्यर्थः । तदुक्तं श्रुत्या 'सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीय' मिति । पञ्चमवेदेन चानुगृहीतम्—

ज्ञानस्वरूपमत्यन्तनिर्मलः परमार्थतः ।
तदेवार्थस्वरूपेण भ्रान्तिदर्शनतः स्थितम् ॥
यदेतद्दृश्यते मूर्तमेतज्ज्ञानात्मनस्तव ।
भ्रान्तिज्ञानेन पश्यन्ति जगद्रूपमयोनिज! ॥
ज्ञानस्वरूपमखिलं जगदेतदबुद्धयः ।
अर्थस्वरूपं पश्यन्तो भ्राम्यन्ते मोहसंप्लवे ॥

ये तु ज्ञानविदग्धाश्शुद्धचेतसस्तेऽखिलं जगत् ।
ज्ञानात्मकं प्रपश्यन्ति तद्रूपं परमेश्वरम् ॥
न्यग्रोधस्सुमहानल्पे यथा बीजे व्यवस्थितः ।
संयमे विश्वमखिलं बीजभूते तथा त्वयि ॥
ज्ञानमेव परं ब्रह्म ज्ञानं बन्धाय चेष्टते ।
ज्ञानात्मकमिदं विश्वं न ज्ञानाद्विद्यते परम् ॥
यदिदं दृश्यते किञ्चित् दर्शनात्तन्न भिद्यते ।
दर्शनं द्रष्टृतो नान्यत् द्रष्टैव हि ततो जगत् ॥

इत्यादि ।

यत् पुनर्जडस्वभावस्य विश्वस्य ज्ञानात्मनो ब्रह्मणोऽनन्यत्वन्न संभवतीति; तदसत्, जडस्वभावत्वे सिद्धे ज्ञानादन्यत्वसिद्धिस्तत्सिद्धौ च जडस्वभावत्वसिद्धिरिति अन्योन्याश्रयात् । ननु प्रत्यक्षत एव घटसुखादेर्जाड्यमवसीयत इति चेत् न, मनुष्योऽहं कृशोऽहं स्थूलोऽहमित्यात्मनोऽपि प्रत्यक्षेण जाड्यप्रतीतेः । नन्वियं चिति देहतद्धर्माध्यासरूपा भ्रान्तिरेव न प्रमाणज्ञानमिति चेत् न; घटं पश्यामि सुखमनुभवामीत्यपि चिति घटसुखाकारारोपरूपा भ्रान्तिर्न प्रमाणमित्यभ्युपगमात् । तस्मात् घटसुखादीनां देहप्राणादीनाञ्च वस्तुतश्चिन्मात्रत्वंमाययैव केवलमचिद्रूपता विपर्यये सतः प्रकाशमानादात्मनोऽत्यन्तेनासत्वाप्रकाशत्वयोरपरिहारादिति सिद्धम् । यद्वा कृष्णस्यान्तरात्मत्वे जीवानामनेकत्वादनन्तभेदत्वं प्राप्तमित्यत उक्त**मेकमि**ति । तथाच श्रुतिः—

"एको देवस्सर्वभूतेषु गूढः
सर्वव्यापी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ।" इति ॥

स्मृतिश्च—

एक एव तु भूतात्मा भूते भूते व्यवस्थितः ।
एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् ॥ इति ॥

पुराणोपनिषच्च—

शुद्धः संलक्ष्यते भ्रान्त्या गुणवानिव योऽगुणः ।
तमात्मरूपिणंदेवं नतास्स्मः पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥
आत्मा शुद्धोऽक्षरश्शान्तो निर्गुणः प्राऽकृतोपरः ।
प्रवृद्ध्यपचयौ नास्य ह्येकस्याखिलवस्तुषु ॥
सितनीलादिभेदेन यथैकंदृश्यते नभः ।
भ्रान्तदृष्टिभिरात्मापि तथैकस्स पृथक् पृथक् ॥

इत्यादि ।

स्यादेतत् । प्रतिक्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञभेदाभावे कथमेकस्मिन्मुक्ते सर्वे मुक्ताः एकस्मिन् बद्धे सर्वे बद्धाः, एकस्मिञ्जाते मृते वा सर्वे जाता मृता वा, दुःखिन्येकस्मिन् सर्वे दुःखिनस्सुखिनि सर्वे सुखिनो वा न स्युरिति, तदेतदसमीक्षिताभिधानम् । स्वरूपभेदाभावेऽप्युपाधिभेदादेव बन्धमोक्षादिव्यवस्थोपपत्तेन्तेः। पर्यथैकस्मिन्देहे सर्वेन्द्रियाधिष्ठातुरात्मन एकत्वेऽपि नयनोपहितस्यैवरूपज्ञत्वं श्रोत्रोपहितस्यैव शब्दज्ञत्वमित्यादिव्यवस्था तथा सर्वभूतेष्वात्मन एकत्वेपि शुकदेहोपहितस्य मुक्तत्वं पशुदेहोपहितस्य बद्धत्वमित्यादिव्यवस्था किंनाभ्युपेयते । किञ्च सिद्ध आत्मभेद एकस्मिन् सुखिन्यन्यो दुःखी दृश्यत इत्यादि व्यवस्थोपन्यासः सिद्धायाञ्च व्यवस्थायां भेद इत्यन्योन्याश्रयदोषः कथं प्रक्षालनीयः । तत्सिद्धमेतत्—विमत आत्मभेदो मिथ्या भेदत्वाच्चन्द्रभेदवत् । यद्वा, उपाधिमन्तरेणानुपलभ्यमानत्वाद्वह्निभेदवदिति । अपि च, योऽसौ भेदस्स किञ्जडस्वभावः, उताजडस्वभावः । आद्ये किं भेदिनस्स्वरूपं किं वा तद्धर्मः, स्वरूपञ्चेत् तत्प्रतीतेः प्रतियोगिसव्यपेक्षता न स्यात्, स्वरूपञ्च तदन्यापेक्षञ्चेति व्याघातात् । न भेदश्चात्मतत्वं स्याज्जडाजडयोरेकरूपत्वानुपपत्तेः । धर्मश्चेत् भेदभेदिभेदान्तरानुपपत्तिरत्रापि तुल्या, अथाजडस्वभावोऽसौ तत्रापि किं सर्ववस्तुष्वेक उतानेकः । अनेकश्चेत् भेदानां परस्परभेदं विना नानेकत्वमिति भेदान्तरशतसहस्रपरम्परापेक्षायामनवस्था, एकः सर्ववस्त्वनुगतोऽजडस्वभावश्च यदि भेदस्तर्ह्यात्मैव भेदशब्दार्थस्स्यात् तत्कुतोऽस्य भेदाशङ्का । अस्मिन् पक्षे सर्ववस्तूनामेकभेदभक्तत्वेनानेकताहानिश्च वाच्या । तदेवं क्षेत्रज्ञभेदाभावात्तत्स्वरूपभूतं ब्रह्मैकमेवेति सिद्धम् । अथवा प्रसिद्धामृतप्रहाणेन किमिति कृष्णाख्यस्यामृतस्य पानविधिरित्यत उक्तमेकमिति । प्रधानमित्यर्थः । जनिम-

त्वाज्जडत्वात् परिच्छिन्नत्वाद्दूरस्थत्वाच्च प्रसिद्धममृतमप्रधानम् । ब्रह्मामृतञ्चाजडत्वान्नित्यत्वाद्व्यापकत्वात् सर्वान्तःस्थत्वाच्च प्रधानमित्याशयः । ननु व्याधिशान्तिरौषधसेवनेनैव भवेत् कुतोऽमृतपानविधानमित्यत आह—**तदिति** । यद्वा कुतोस्यामृतत्वमित्यत आह—**तदिति** । यदेतत् **कृष्णाख्यममृतं** विद्यते **परमौषधं परमं** सर्वोत्कृष्ट**मौषधं** अतः **पीत**मात्मनानुभूतं सत् **आत्यन्तिकं** नित्यपुरुषार्थरूपं **निर्वाणं** मोक्षसुखं **वितनुते,** 'आत्मनि विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवत्येतावदरे खल्वमृतत्व' मिति श्रुतेः ।

"तावदार्तिस्तथा वाञ्छा तावन्मोहस्तथा सुखम् ।
यावन्न याति शरणं त्वामशेषाघनाशनम् ॥
तावद्रागादयस्स्तेनास्तावत् कारागृहं गृहम् ।
तावन्मोहांघ्रियुगलो (?) यावत् कृष्ण नते जनाः ॥ (?)
एकोपि कृष्णे सुकृतः प्रणामो
दशाश्वमेधावभृथेन तुल्यः ।
दशाश्वमेधी पुनरेति जन्म
कृष्णप्रणामी न पुनर्भवाय ॥
प्राजापत्यं ब्राह्मणानां स्मृतं स्थानं क्रियावताम् ।
स्थानमैन्द्रं क्षत्रियाणां संग्रामेष्वनिवर्तिनाम् ॥
वैश्यानां मारुतं स्थानं स्वधर्ममनुवर्तताम् ।
गान्धर्वं शूद्रजातीनां परिचर्यानुवर्तिनाम् ॥
अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि यतीनामूर्ध्वरेतसाम् ।
स्मृतंतेषान्तु यत् स्थानं तदेव गुरुवासिनाम् ॥
सप्तर्षीणाञ्च यत् स्थानं स्मृतं तद्वै वनौकसाम् ।
प्राजापत्यं गृहस्थानां ब्राह्मं सन्यासिनां स्मृतम् ॥
योगिनाममृतं स्थानं स्वधर्ममनुवर्तिनाम् ।
एकान्तिनस्सदा ब्रह्मध्यायिनो योगिनो हि ये ॥
तेषांतत्परमं स्थानं यच्च पश्यन्ति सूरयः ।

गत्वा गत्वा निवर्तन्ते चन्द्रसूर्यादयो ग्रहाः ।
अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तकाः ॥"

इत्यादिपञ्चमवेदवचनाच्च । "आत्यन्तिकं निर्वाण" मिति विशेषोक्तिर्मोक्षाभासभेदव्युदसनार्थम् । इह लोकायतिका देहात्मवादिनो मरणमेव मोक्षमाचक्षते तस्यास्य स्वदर्शनप्राप्तिरूपत्वान्मोक्षाभासत्वं सुप्रसिद्धम् । आर्हतास्सततोर्ध्वगमनरूपमिति रटन्ति, एतदपि सतताधोगतिवत् प्रयासमयत्वादाभासतांनातिवर्तते । बौद्धेषु क्षणिकवादिनो विज्ञानवादिनश्च विशुद्धविज्ञानसन्तानोदयं मोक्षमाहुः, तदप्यसत् । प्रकाशैकरूपे ज्ञाने विषयोपभोगमन्तरेण भेदानिर्वाहात् विशुद्धविज्ञानसन्तानासिद्धेर्मुमुक्षुसन्तानस्य नष्टत्वेनाऽकृताभ्यागमकृतविप्रणाशापत्तेश्च । यः पुनः बोधिसत्वाग्रणीः माध्यमिकस्स शून्यतावाप्तिं मुक्तिमिच्छति तत्पक्षस्सर्वशून्यताया द्रष्टृसत्वासत्वयोरसिद्धेस्त्याज्यः । तार्किकास्तु आत्मनो बुद्ध्यादिनवगुणोच्छित्तिं मुक्तिमास्थिषत, तन्मोक्षदशायामीश्वरवज्जीवानामिच्छाज्ञानप्रयत्नवत्वसम्भवात् विपर्यये पाषणकल्पत्वाच्च नाङ्गीकार्यम् । सांख्याः प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेकंमोक्षमनुस्मरन्ति । तत् मुक्तस्य प्रकृतिदर्शनादर्शनयोर्न युज्यते । दर्शने तत्कृतसंसारदर्शनानिवृत्तेः अदर्शने प्रकृतेः पुंसो विवेकज्ञानासिद्धेश्च, न खलु धर्मिणोऽदर्शने धर्मस्य विवेकग्रहणं संभवतीति । कर्ममीमांसकाः काम्यप्रतिषिद्धेतरकर्मसाध्यामात्मनः स्वरूपावस्थानलक्षणां मुक्तिमुपदिशन्ति । तत्कृतकत्वेनानित्यत्वानुमानात् प्राक्स्वरूपावस्थाने साध्यत्वाभावादनवस्थाने स्वरूपत्वाभावाच्च न शोभनम् । पाशुपताः पाञ्चरात्रकाश्च परदेवतासालोक्यादिलक्षणात् ब्रह्मविष्ण्वीश्वरसदाशिवभेदेन वासुदेवसंकर्षणप्रद्युम्नानिरुद्धभेदेन च स्थितायाः परदेवतायाः श्रवणकीर्तनध्यानपूजनोपजनिततत्प्रसादलभ्यांमुक्तिं मन्यन्ते । तदपि सालोक्यादीनां कर्मसाध्यत्वेन भेददर्शनमयत्वेन च नश्वरत्वसभयत्वानुमानादयुक्तम् । अतः आत्माविद्यास्तमय एव साक्षान्मोक्षः, स च तद्विद्यैकसाध्यत्वान्नित्य इति स्थितम् ॥

अत्रायमुपदेशसारसंग्रहः— अहङ्कारादिदेहपर्यन्तस्य महदाद्यवन्यन्तस्य च व्यष्टिसमष्ट्यात्मकस्य प्रपञ्चस्य बीजस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्त्यवस्थाभेदैर्विराड्हिरण्यगर्भव्याकृताकार

भेदैस्साक्षिणि भेदासंभवात् बीजभूताज्ञानरजस्सत्वतमोगुणभेदादेव ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रभेदाद्विश्वतैजसप्राज्ञभेदाच्च भिन्नसृष्टिस्थितिसंसारहेतुदुःखसुखमोहपात्रं वा परमेश्वरो जीवश्च सर्वक्षेत्रगतोऽहमेव एक 'सर्वव्यापी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा च देव' इति श्रवणात् 'आत्मैवेदं सर्वं ब्रह्मैवेदं सर्व'मिति श्रुत्यन्तरादिति कार्यकारणभेदन्यायात् सदानन्दचिद्घनो ब्रह्म अहमेव तत्वं मत्तोऽन्यत् किञ्चिन्नास्ति, अस्ति चेदपि गन्धर्वनगरकल्पं वाचारंभणं विकारो नामधेयंमृत्तिकेत्येवं बुभुक्षुना मया मदन्वेषणमेव कार्यमिति निश्चित्य शब्दादिभ्यश्शनैर्मन आकृष्य प्रत्यङ्मुखतान्नीत्वाऽसज्जडदुःखपरिच्छिन्नद्वैतप्रपञ्चभूमाधिष्ठानत्वान्यथानुपपत्तिसिद्धे सच्चिदानन्दानन्ताद्वितीयवपुषि तुरीये ब्रह्मात्मनि चिरं विहृत्य चरितार्थो भवेदिति। लट्प्रयोगान्न कालान्तरे मुक्तिः किन्तु तदैवेति सूचितम्। तथा च श्रुतिः—

ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति' इति ॥ ११ ॥

नन्वियं चिकित्सा विषयानाकृष्टचित्तैः कैश्चिदेव पुंभिः कर्तुं शक्यते तदन्येषां मुमुक्षूणां का चिकित्सेत्याह—

हे मर्त्याः! परमं हितं शृणुत वो वक्ष्यामि संक्षेपतः
संसारार्णवमापदूर्मिबहुलं सम्यक् प्रविश्य स्थिताः।
नानाज्ञानमपास्य चेतसि 'नमो नारायणाये' त्यमुं
मन्त्रं सप्रणवं प्रणामसहितं प्रावर्तयध्वं मुहुः॥ ॥ १२ ॥

हे मर्त्या इति। अस्य मन्त्रस्यापि साधारण्यं मर्त्यशब्दात् व्यञ्जितम्। **हे मर्त्याः आपदूर्मिबहुलं** विविधदुःखकल्लोलमालाकुलं **संसारार्णवं** जन्मादिसंसारसमुद्रं **सम्यक्** नियमेन **प्रविश्य स्थिताः** एतेषां **वः परमं** सर्वोत्कृष्टं **हितं** तरणोपायं **शृणुत**। ननु पूर्वश्लोक एवोपदिष्टतदित्यत उक्तम्—**वक्ष्यामि संक्षेपत** इति। अल्पप्रमाणत्वेनोपदेक्ष्यामीत्यर्थः। **चेतसि** स्थितं **नानाज्ञानं** देवतागुरुमन्त्रात्मभेदभ्रान्तिम**पास्य सप्रणवं** प्रणवादिकं **नमो नारायणायेत्यमुं** परिमिताक्षरं वेदप्रसिद्धं वा, 'ओमित्येकाक्षरं नम

इति द्वे अक्षरे नारायणाय इति पञ्चाक्षराणि, एतद्वै नारायणस्याष्टाक्षरं पद'मिति श्रुतेः, **मन्त्रं** मननकर्तृताशीलं शब्दरूपं प्रणामपूर्वकं **मुहुः** भूयो भूयः अष्टोत्तरसहस्रसंख्यं द्वादशसहस्रसंख्यं वा **प्रावर्तयध्वं** नियमेनावर्तयध्वम् । यद्वा प्रकर्षेण 'अर्कौघाभं किरीटान्वितमकरलसत्कुण्डल" मित्युक्तध्यानमनुसृत्यावर्तयध्वम् जपध्वम् । यद्वा प्रकर्षेण मानसोच्चोपांशुभेदेनावर्तयध्वम् । तदुक्तं—

"यदुच्चनीचस्वरितैश्शब्दैस्स्पष्टपदाक्षरैः ।
मन्त्रमुच्चारयेद्वाचा जपयज्ञस्स वाचिकः ॥
शनैरुच्चारयेन्मन्त्रं किञ्चिदोष्ठौ प्रचालयेत् ।
ईषच्छब्दं स्वयं विद्यादुपांशुस्स जपः स्मृतः ॥
ध्यानं यदक्षरश्रेण्या वर्णाद्वर्णं पदात्पदम् ।
शब्दार्थचिन्तनाभ्यासस्स उक्तो मानसो जपः ॥"

इति ॥ ॥ १२ ॥

कुतोऽस्य मन्त्रस्य संसारार्णवे मग्नानां परमहितत्वमित्यत्राह—

नारायणाय नम इत्ययमेव सद्य-
स्संसारघोरविषसंहरणाय मन्त्रः ।
शृण्वन्तु भव्यमतयो यतयोऽस्तरागा
उच्चैस्तरामुपदिशाम्यहमूर्ध्वबाहुः ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

नारायणेति । एवकारो भिन्नक्रमः । **नारायणाय नम** इत्ययं मन्त्रः, **सद्यः** सहायान्तरमनपेक्ष्य **संसारघोरविषसंहरणाय** संसारसर्पस्य यत् घोरं असह्यं विषं तस्य संहरणाय भवत्येव । "यो हरेर्नारायणस्याष्टाक्षरं पदमध्येत्यनपब्रुवस्सर्वमायुरेति विन्दते प्राजापत्यं रायस्पोषं गोपत्यन्ततोऽमृतत्वमश्नुते" इति श्रुतेः ।

" किंतस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैः किंतस्य बहुभिर्व्रतैः ।
नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रस्सर्वार्थसाधकः ॥ "

इति स्मृतेश्च । अथवा —

" तेनाधीतं श्रुतं सर्वं तेन सर्वमनुष्ठितम् ।
येनोंनमश्शिवायेति मन्त्राभ्यासस्स्थिरीकृतः ॥
कोटयो ब्रह्महत्यानामगम्यागमकोटयः ।
सद्यः प्रलयमायान्ति महादेवेति कीर्तनात् ॥"

इत्यादिश्रवणात् पञ्चाक्षरादिमन्त्राभ्यासादपि मुक्तिर्गम्यते, तत्कुतो विशेषोपदेश इत्यत्राह—**नारायणायेति** । नारायण इत्ययं मन्त्र एव सद्यः कालान्तरं देशान्तरं देहान्तरञ्चानपेक्ष्य संसारघोरविषसंहरणाय भवति शुद्धसत्वमूर्तिनिष्ठत्वात्; मन्त्रान्तराणि तु तामसराजससात्विकत्रिगुणमूर्तिनिष्ठत्वात् सत्वमूर्तिभक्तिव्यवधानेनैव मुक्तये कल्पन्त इति कालादिव्यवहितफलानीत्याशयः । यथोक्तम्—

पार्थिवाद्दारुणो धूमस्तस्मादग्निस्तमोमयः ।
तमसस्तु रजस्तस्मात् सत्वं यत् ब्रह्मदर्शनम् ॥
स्वधर्मनिष्ठः शतजन्मभिः पुमान्
विरिञ्चतामेति ततः परं हि मा ।
अव्याकृतं भागवतोऽथ वैष्णवं ॥
इति ॥
पदं ········भेजिरे मुनयोऽथाग्रे भगवन्तमधोक्षजम् ।
सत्वं विशुद्धं क्षेमाय कल्पन्ते ये नु तानिह ॥ "

इति चान्यत्र पञ्चमवेदेनाभ्यधायि । कस्माद्विष्णुभजनादेव सद्योमुक्तिरिति, तन्मन्त्रस्योपदेश उपपद्यत इति; ये पुनः शुद्धसत्वमूर्तिः परमशिव एव, विष्णुस्तु तमोमूर्तिः तमोरजोमिश्रसत्वमूर्तिर्वेत्यङ्गीकुर्वन्ति, तेषां परमशिव एवाष्टार्णमन्त्रदेवता न विष्णुरित्यविरोधः ।

नारो नरसमूहस्स्यादयनं विम्बसंज्ञितम् ।
तस्य तद्भावनायोगात्तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥

इति स्मरणात् । सतारेण पञ्चाक्षरेणापि स एव चेदुपदिश्यते तर्हि सोऽपि मन्त्रस्सद्योमुक्तये भविष्यति । अत एवोक्तम् ।

यद्व्यक्षरं नाम गिरेरितं नृणां सकृत्प्रसंगादघमाशु हन्ति तत् ।
पवित्रकीर्तिंतमलङ्घ्यशासनं भवानहो द्वेष्टि शिवं शिवेतरः ॥
इति ।

किञ्च यद्ययमेव मन्त्रः सद्योमुक्तिहेतुरिति नियमस्तर्हि—"ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानमन्या वाचो विमुञ्चथ, अमृतस्यैष सेतुः ।"

"ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन्मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥"

इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिवचांसि वाध्येरन् । द्वादशार्णाष्टादशार्णनृसिंहादिमन्त्राणां मूर्तिहेतुत्वसंकथापि साध्वी दूषिता स्यादित्यलमतिप्रलापेन । तदेवं शुद्धसत्वमूर्तिनिष्ठत्वादयमष्टार्णो मन्त्रस्सद्योमुक्तये भवतीत्येव तात्पर्यम् । न पुनर्मन्त्रान्तराणां तन्निष्ठानामपि सद्योमुक्तिहेतुत्वं नास्तीति । त्रिगुणमूर्तिनिष्ठानां सत्वाद्येकैकगुणमूर्तिनिष्ठानाञ्च मन्त्राणां नास्मिन्नेव जन्मनि मुक्तिजनकतेति तेभ्योऽस्य वैशिष्ट्यमवधेयम् । तदेतदभिसन्धायानुगृहीतं हृषीकेशेन "वासुदेवस्सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः" "कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः" इति ।

ओङ्कारस्सोऽहमर्थो न इति निषेधात्मको मो [यम ?] मर्थो ।
नासत्ता रा चिदर्थो य इति पुनरनन्तात्मको णा सुखार्थः ।
योऽद्वैतार्थस्तदुत्थामतिरिह गदिता सोऽस्मि नासौ प्रपञ्चः ।
सत्ता सत्यं स्वसंविन्निरवधिरमलानन्दरूपोऽद्वयोऽहम् ॥

अस्मिन्मन्त्रे के मुख्याधिकारिण इत्यत्राह **श्रृण्वन्त्विति** । तमिममुपदेशं **यतय-श्शृण्वन्तु** । के ते **भव्यमतयः** शुद्धबुद्धयः ते, पि के **अस्तरागाः** रागद्वेषशून्या इत्यर्थः । अहं प्रत्यक्षीकृततत्सामर्थ्य **उच्चैस्तरा**न्निश्शङ्कमेन**दुपदिशामि** । तथाचोक्तम्—

"सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्य मुद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।
वेदशास्त्रात्परं नास्ति न दैवं केशवात् परम् ॥
आलोड्य सर्वशास्त्राणि विचार्य च पुनः पुनः ।
इदमेकं सुनिष्पन्नं ध्येयो नारायणस्सदा" ॥ इति ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

यतयः श्रृण्वन्त्वित्थम् । तत्र रागिणामत्राधिकारो नास्तीति शङ्का स्यात्, तथाच पूर्वापरविरोधः 'हे मर्त्याः परमं हितं श्रृणुत वो वक्ष्यामि' इत्यारब्धत्वात्, तत्परिहारायाह —

आर्ताः विषण्णा शिथिलाश्च भीता घोरेषुच व्याधिषु वर्तमानाः ।
संकीर्त्य नारायणशब्दमात्रं विमुक्तदुःखा स्सुखिनो भवन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

आर्ता इति । न केवलं विरागिणोऽनेन संसारान्मुच्यन्ते, यावदार्तादयो रागिणश्च शोकार्णवन्तरन्तीति चार्थः । अपरश्चकार आर्ताद्यन्योन्यसमुच्चयार्थः । **आर्ताः** प्रियावियोगादिदुःखिनः **विषण्णाः** दरिद्राः **शिथिलाः** करचरणनयनाद्यङ्गहीनाः स्वपदच्युताः वा **भीताश्चो**रव्याघ्रादिभ्यो भूतपिशाचादिभ्यो वा बिभ्यतः **घोरेषु** दुष्परिहारेषु कुष्ठभगन्दरराजयक्ष्मादिषु **व्याधिषु वर्तमानाश्च 'नारायणे'**ति चतुरक्षरो यश्शब्दः श्रीभगवदात्मैक्यप्रमाणभूतं महावाक्यं भगवन्नामेति प्रसिद्धं एतावन्मात्रं नतारनतियुतन्तेषां सर्वेषामनेन सहैकार्थत्वेन सहप्रयोगानवश्यंभावात् । **सङ्कीर्त्य** सस्वरनिरन्तरमभ्यस्य **विमुक्तदुःखास्**सम्यक् परिहृततत्तद्दुःखाः **सुखिनः** प्राप्तपूर्व [सुखाश्च] भोगसुखाश्च **भवन्ति** । अत्र क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन पौर्वापर्यर्थित्वेन हेतुहेतुमद्भावं प्रकाशयता सङ्कीर्तनस्य सुखदुःखप्राप्तिपरिहाररूपस्य फलस्य च भिन्नकालत्वं व्यञ्जितम् । लटा फलस्याचिरेण

सिद्धिः सूचिता । तेन श्रीभगवन्नामसङ्कीर्तनस्य दृष्टफलत्वात् तत्प्रामाण्येन वेदितव्यं सद्भिरिति ध्वनितम् । तथा च भगवद्वचनम्—

"चतुर्विधा भजन्ते मां जनास्सुकृतिनोऽर्जुन ।
आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानी च भरतर्षभ ॥
तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते ॥" इति ।

यदा श्रीमदष्टार्णमन्त्रैकदेशस्यापीदृशी दशा, तदा समस्तस्य तस्य चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थ-साधनत्वे किंनाम विचारणीयमिति श्लोकार्थः ॥ ॥ १४ ॥

अथाष्टार्णमभ्यासिभिरनुष्ठेये चरणोपासनकर्मण्यंशभूतमन्त्रमाविश्चिकीर्षुस्तदाद्यं श्रीमत्पदमाददानः पुल्कसादीनामप्यनेन मुक्तिमाह—

श्रीमन्नाम प्रोच्य नारायणाख्यं के न प्राप्ता वाञ्छितान् पापिनोऽपि ।
हा नः पूर्वा वाक् प्रवृत्ता न तस्मिन् येन प्राप्तं गर्भवासादिदुःखम् ॥ १५ ॥

श्रीमन्नामेति । **नारायणाख्यं श्रीमन्नाम** सुमंगलं नाम **प्रोच्य** सङ्कीर्त्य **पापिनः** पापयोनयोऽपि **वाञ्छितान् के न प्राप्ताः** । यथोक्तम्—

"किरातहूणान्ध्रपुलिन्दपुल्कसाः
आभीरकङ्का यवनाः कषादयः [?] ।
येऽन्ये च पापा यदपाश्रयाश्रया-
श्शुद्ध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवे नमः ॥"

इति ।

यतः पापिनामपि सङ्कीर्तनादशेषपुरुषार्थावाप्तिरत एतदनुमीयत इत्याह—**हा न** इति । हा इति विषादे । **नो**ऽस्माकं **तस्मि**न्नाम्नि **वाक्** पूर्वं न **प्रवृत्ता** । कुतः, **येन** यस्मात् **गर्भवासादिदुख**मस्मिञ्जन्मनि प्राप्तं अस्माभिः । यदि प्राचीनजन्मनि श्रीभगवन्नामसंकीर्तनञ्चक्रम, न तर्हि संप्रति संसरेम । प्रागेवमुक्तत्वादित्यर्थः ॥ १५ ॥

अत्र 'केन प्राप्तं गर्भवासादिदुःख'मिति केचित् पठन्ति । तत्र यदि तस्मिन् वाक् पूर्वं प्रवृत्ता, तर्हि केन हेतुनाऽस्मिञ्जन्मनि गर्भवासादि दुखं प्राप्तमिति योजनीयम् ॥

अथाष्टाक्षरमन्त्रनिष्ठैः कायिकवाचिकमानसव्यापाराणां भगवति योजनञ्च कार्यमित्याह ।

नमामि नारायणपादपङ्कजं
करोमि नारायणपूजनं सदा ।
वदामि नारायणनाम निर्मलं
स्मरामि नारायणतत्त्वमव्ययम् ॥ १६ ॥

नमामीति । **सदेति** सर्वत्र संबद्ध्यते । **नारायणपादपङ्कजं सदा नमामि** प्रह्वीभवामि । अनेन नारायणचरणौ शरणमहं प्रपद्ये इति मन्त्रशेष आविष्कृतः । नमस्कारस्य कायिकवाचिकमानसभेदेन त्रैविध्यात् कायादिसाधारणव्यापारार्पणञ्च दर्शितम् । **सदा नारायणपूजनं करोमी**ति कायव्यापारस्यैवार्पणं, **सदा निर्मलं नारायणनाम वदामी**ति वाग्व्यापारस्य, **अव्ययं** अविकारं, **नारायणतत्वं** नारायणस्य परमात्मनस्तत्वं सदानन्दचिद्घनं स्वरूपं सदा **स्मरामी**ति मानसव्यापारस्य, भगवतो वासुदेवस्य शासनानतिवर्तित्वात् कायवाङ्मनोभिः शुभमशुभं वा यद्यत्कर्माऽहं करोमि तत्तत्सर्वन्त्वत्प्रीतये भूयादिति दृढसंकल्पः प्रणामादिकं विवक्षितमिति सदाशब्दात् गम्यते । सर्वदा नमस्कारादेरशक्यक्रियत्वात् । पुराणोपनिषच्च—

कायेन वाचा मनसेन्द्रियैर्वा
बुध्द्यात्मना वाऽनुसृतस्वभावः ।
करोमि यद्यत्सकलं परस्मै
नारायणायेति समर्पयामि ॥ इति ॥ ॥ १६ ॥

यदुक्तम्—

"नारायणाय नम इत्ययमेव सद्यः
संसारघोरविषसंहरणाय मन्त्रः" ।

इति । तत्र परतत्वनिष्ठानामपि मन्त्रान्तराणां सद्योमुक्तिफलतेति प्रतीयात्, तन्निवारयन् ध्यानयजनमननेभ्यस्सङ्कीर्तनस्य तत्वानुस्मारकत्वात् सर्वसुकरत्वाच्च प्राधान्यात् विशेषतः कार्यत्वमाह—

तत्वं ब्रुवाणानि परं परस्तात्
मधु क्षरन्तीव मुदां पदानि ।
प्रावर्तय प्राञ्जलिरस्मि जिह्वे
नामानि नारायणगोचराणि ॥ १७ ॥

तत्वमिति । हे **जिह्वे** भवत्यै **प्राञ्जलिरस्मि** । किमर्थं **नारायणगोचराणि** नारायण एव गोचरो विषयो येषां तानि **नामानि** विष्णुरित्यादीनि **प्रावर्तय** भक्तिपुरस्सरं गाय ।

'शृण्वन् सुभद्राणि रथाङ्गपाणेः जन्मानि कर्माणि च यानि लोके ।
गीतानि नामानि तदर्थकानि गायन् विलज्जो विचरेदसंगः ॥'

इत्यादिविधानात् ।

''एष मे सर्वधर्माणां धर्मोऽधिकतमो मतः ।
यद्भक्त्या पुण्डरीकाक्षं स्तवैरर्चेन्नरस्सदा ॥''

इति स्मरणाच्च ।

कः पुनर्नारायणो नामेत्यत उक्तं **परस्तात् परं तत्वं ब्रुवाणानि** इति ।

"इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्थाः अर्थेभ्यश्च परंमनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिः बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः ॥
महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः ।
पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥"

इति श्रुतेः । **परस्तात्** सर्वोपरिष्टादवस्थिताव्यक्ततत्वादपि **परं** उपरिष्टादवस्थितं **तत्वं** परमार्थवस्तु पुरुषस्समष्टिव्यष्टिदेहेषु क्षेत्रज्ञत्वेनान्तर्यामित्वेन च सदा प्रकाशमानादानन्दात्मनश्च पुरुषादन्यस्यातत्वाप्रकाशत्वदुःखत्वापरिहारात्तदधीनसत्तास्फूर्तिकतानियमेन

तत्तत्परतन्त्रता चास्तीति युक्तः पुंसः परत्वं तत् पुरुषतत्वं **ब्रुवाणानि** व्यक्तं भाषमाणानि । लक्षणयेति शेषः । अन्यथा "यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह" इति श्रुतिविरोधान्मन आदिसाक्षिणस्तैर्विषयीकर्तुमयोग्यत्वाच्च । अत एव "यानि नामानि गौणानि विख्यातानि महात्मनः" इति स्मर्यते । तदेवमादिपुरुषो नारायण इत्युपदिष्टं भवति । तथाच भगवद्वचनम् ।

द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरस्सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते॥
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥
यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

'**परस्तात् परं तत्वं ब्रुवाणानि नारायणगोचराणि नामानी**' त्यंशेनैतन्निरस्तं यदाहुरेके शुकवामदेवयोरिव कृष्णदधीच्योस्तथा चैवेतरस्य भूतात्मयोगजं खल्वार्षमेवैश्वर्यमाख्यात [?] मिति परस्तात् परतत्वरूपस्याऽखिलतत्वव्यापकत्वसंभवात् भूतमात्रव्यापकत्वकल्पनानुपपत्तेः, तत्कल्पने तद्वचनविरोधाच्च ।

"अहं सर्वस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ।
मत्तः परतरं नान्यत् किञ्चिदस्ति धनञ्जय
मयि सर्वमिद प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ॥"

इति हि भगवद्वचनम् । ननु च कृष्णो नाम पुरुषतत्वम् ; अतः प्रकृतिमहदहङ्कारशब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धश्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुजिव्हाघ्राणवाक्पाणिपादपायूपस्थाकाशवायुवन्हिवार्यवनिव्यापकत्वेऽपि शिवशक्तिसदाशिवेश्वरशुद्धविद्यामायातत्वव्यापकत्वाभावान्न सर्वात्मत्वमस्येति चेत् मैवम् । "पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चित्" इति श्रुत्या पुरुषतत्वादुपरि तत्वान्तरप्रति-

षेधात् "पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूत यच्च भव्य" मिति श्रुत्यन्तराच्च शिवसदाशिवेश्वरतत्वानां षट्त्रिंशत्तत्ववादिभिः कल्पितानां पुरुष एवान्तर्भावावश्यंभावात् । अत एवोक्तम्--

"त्वामेवान्ये शिवोक्तेन मार्गेण शिवरूपिणम् ।
बह्वाचार्यविभेदेन भगवन् समुपासते ॥"

शक्तिमायाविद्याऽविद्याकालकलानियतिरागाणां प्रकृत्यन्तर्भावाभ्युपगमाच्च । तथाच भगवद्वचनं--

"विद्याविद्ये मम ननू विद्ध्युद्धव शरीरिणाम् ।
बन्धमोक्षकृती आद्ये मायया मे विनिर्मिते ॥
महाभूतान्यहङ्कारो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च ।
इन्द्रियाणि दशैकञ्च पञ्च चेन्द्रियगोचराः ॥
इच्छा द्वेषः सुखं दुःखं संघातश्चेतना धृतिः ।
एतत् क्षेत्रं समासेन सविकारमुदाहृतम् ॥"

इति । "कालवृत्त्यां तु मायायाम्" इति कालस्य मायाकार्यत्वञ्च भागवत उपदिष्टम् । नो चेत्तस्य सत्वेनात्माद्वैत श्रुतिविरोधःस्यादिति । तदयमिह परमार्थः । निर्विकल्पकनित्यनिरस्तनिखिलद्वैतानुषङ्गे सदानन्दचिदेकरसे स्वात्मन्येवानवच्छिन्नाहंविमर्शसारे क्रममाणः पुरुषो नारायण इति पञ्चविंशतितत्ववादिभिः, परमशिव इति षट्त्रिंशत्तत्ववादिभिश्च वर्ण्यते ।

"मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिः महदाद्याः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त ।
षोडशकश्च विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिः पुरुषः ॥"

इति पञ्चविंशतितत्वानि ।

"पञ्चभूतानि तन्मात्रापञ्चकंचेन्द्रियाणि च ।
क्रियाज्ञान निमित्तानि [?] पञ्च पञ्च विभागशः ॥

मनो बुद्धिरहङ्कारो गुणाः प्रकृतिपूरुषौ ।
रागो विद्या कला चैव नियतिः काल एव च ॥
महामाया च विद्या च महेश्वरसदाशिवौ ।
शक्तिश्शिवश्चेति विदुः षट्त्रिंशत्तत्ववादिनः ॥"

तत्र स्वात्मानमेव जगदात्मना विवर्तयितुमिच्छन् पुरुषश्शिवः "आत्मा वा अयमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत् किञ्चन मिषत्सोऽकामयते"ति श्रुतेः, एषैवेच्छाशक्तिः अप्र(ति)हतेच्छत्वात् सदैवाङ्कुरायमाणं जगदहमिदमिति स्वात्ममात्रत्वेन पश्यन् सदाशिवः अङ्कुरितञ्जगदिदमहमिति स्वात्मनो बहिरिव दर्पणनगरन्यायेन पश्यन्नीश्वरः अनयोस्सम्बन्धिन्यहन्तेदन्तयोरैक्यप्रतिपत्तिश्शुद्धविद्या अहन्तेदन्ताभेदप्रतिपत्तिर्माया तया व्यामोहितः परमपुरुष एव पुरुषः, अत एव नित्यस्यापि तस्य भवनाभवनहेतुः कालः सर्वस्य व्याप्तस्यापि वस्तुपरिच्छेदः, हेतुर्नियतिः सर्वकर्तुरपि किञ्चित्कर्तृत्वहेतुः कलास्सर्व[स्यापि]ज्ञस्यापि किञ्चिज्ज्ञत्वकारणमविद्या चिदेकरसत्वादसंगस्यापि देहदैहिकप्रपञ्चाभिषंगो रागः एतत्कालादिपञ्चकमागमेषु स्वनिदानमायासहितं कञ्चुकषट्कमाख्यायते, अनेन वेष्टितः पुमान् सङ्कोचमुपगच्छतीति । अतः पुरुषतत्वं एव विद्योपहितरूपं शिवसदाशिवेश्वरतत्वानि मायोपहितं रूपं पुरुषतत्वं कालनियतिकलाविद्यारागा मायाया एव रूपभेदाः, ते च मायाविद्ये वस्तुतः पुरुषाधिष्ठिता प्रकृतिरेव—

"विधाविद्ये मम तनू विद्ध्युद्धव शरीरिणाम् । बन्धमोक्षकरी विद्या ॥"

सत्वरजस्तमोगुणस(मवा)यात्मिका माया ; तत्रापि सत्वं ज्ञानशक्तिः, रजः क्रियाशक्तिः, तम आवरणशक्तिः ; सैव रजोगुणप्रधाना महदादि पृथिव्यन्तानान्तत्वानां सृष्टिहेतुस्तदधिष्ठाता पुरुषो ब्रह्मा ; सत्वगुणप्रधाना स्थितिहेतुस्तदधिष्ठाता विष्णुः ; तमोगुणप्रधाना संहारहेतुतदधिष्ठाता रुद्रः ; मायाविद्याभेदमप्राप्ता प्रकृतिश्शक्तिर्या स्वरूपानन्दानुभवतृप्तस्यापि पुंसश्शिवाख्यपारमैश्वर्यप्रकाशनेच्छात्मिका भवतिं ; अतश्शिवशक्त्या-

दीनां पुरुषप्रकृत्योरन्तर्भावः सूपपाद एव महदाद्यवन्यन्तानां तत्वानां मूलकारणं प्रकृतिः, तस्याः प्रथमस्पन्दो महान् स तु द्रव्यज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिसङ्ग्रहात्मा तद्विलासोऽहङ्कारः तच्छक्तित्रयविस्ताराकारः ; तत्र द्रव्यशक्तिः—तथा च पराशरः—

यानि मूर्तान्यमूर्तानि यान्यत्रान्यत्र वा क्वचित् ।
सन्ति वै वस्तुजातानि तानि सर्वाणि तद्वपुः ॥

इति ॥ अहङ्कारस्य कार्याणि शब्दादिपञ्चतन्मात्राण्याकाशादिपञ्चभूतानि च तेषाञ्च पूर्वपूर्वकार्याण्युत्तरोत्तराणि, तानि च ग्राह्याणि । कार्याणि च क्रियाशक्तेरहङ्कारात्सं-भूतानि श्रोत्रादीनि पञ्च ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि शब्दादिज्ञानसाधनानि, वागादीनि च पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रि-याणि च वदनादिक्रियासाधनानि, तानि ग्राहकाणि करणानि च कथ्यन्ते । ज्ञानशक्ते-रहङ्कारादुत्थितम्मनोबुद्ध्यहङ्कारात्मकं सङ्कल्पनिश्चयाभिमानसाधनमन्तःकरणं दिग्वातार्क-प्रचेतोऽश्विवह्नीन्द्रोपेन्द्रमित्रब्रह्मचन्द्रप्रजापतिरुद्राख्यं करणदेवतावृन्दञ्च, तदिदं ज्ञातृकर्तृसंज्ञं भवति । यत् पुनः क्षेत्रज्ञाधिदैवतश्चित्तं तन्मन आदित्रयसमष्टिरूपत्वात् चन्द्रादित्रिक-संग्रहरूपत्वाच्चानुसन्धानात्मककार्यान्तरानुमेयरूपमपि न पृथग्गण्यते त्वग्ग्राह्यो गुणः स्पर्शः तदाश्रयो वायुः स चेष्टाहेतुः, चक्षुर्ग्राह्यो गुणो रूपं तदाश्रयं तेजः तद्वाचकं प्रकाशकञ्च जिह्वाग्राह्यो गुणो रसः तदाश्रया आपः, ता आप्यायनक्लेदनकर्त्र्यः, घ्राणग्राह्यो गुणो गन्धस्तदाश्रया भूमिः सा विश्वधारिका, वाय्वादिष्वाकाशादीनामनुप्रवेशाच्छब्दाद्याश्रय-त्वमपि द्रष्टव्यमिति । किं पुनः कीर्तितैर्नामभिरित्यत उक्तं—**मुदां पदानी**ति । अशेषसुख-प्रदानीत्यर्थः । तथाच श्रुतिः— ।

'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म यो वेद निहितं गुहायां परमे व्योमन् ।
सोऽश्नुते सर्वान् कामान् सह ॥'

इति । तत्र हेतु**र्मधु क्षरन्तीवे**ति । मधुब्राह्मणोक्ता ब्रह्मविद्या मधु तत् क्षरति स्रवति येभ्यस्तानि मधुक्षरन्ति, इवशब्द उत्प्रेक्षार्थः । ब्रह्मविद्याजनकानीत्यर्थः । तत्र हेतुः **परस्तात् परं तत्वं ब्रुवाणानी**त्यनेनोक्तः ॥ ॥ १७ ॥